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A SOURCE BOOK  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY

VOLUME I

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A SOURCE BOOK  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY  
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS

Edited by

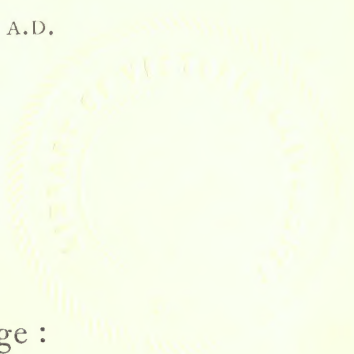
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# CHAPTER I

## TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

### AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) BAEDA, or "The Venerable Bede," was not in the strict sense a "contemporary" writer. He was the most learned man of his day: most of his life was passed in a monastery at Jarrow where he died at the age of sixty-three in 735. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English Race* is the best and the only trustworthy authority for the early Saxon period. From 596 onwards his work was drawn either from contemporary documents or from verbal information.

(2) ASSER, Bishop of Sherborne in the reign of Alfred the Great, was intimate with the king, whose life he wrote.

(3) The *Old English Chronicle*, commonly referred to as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, was in the first instance a compilation made under the direction of King Alfred. From his time till the death of Stephen the record was officially continued.

(4) The *Laws* or *Dooms of Alfred* survive in twelfth-century MSS, copied from originals.

### 1. THE CONVERSION OF KENT

[BAEDA'S *Ecclesiastical History*]

In the year 597 the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain was almost completed. The Jute kingdom of Kent was the longest established and most advanced of the Teutonic kingdoms; and its king, Ethelbert, claimed a general over-lordship. In this year, Pope Gregory I sent a mission under the conduct of Augustine for the conversion of England from heathendom to Christianity.

The powerful Ethelbert was at that time king of Kent; he had extended his dominions as far as the great river Humber, by which the Southern Saxons are divided from the Northern. On the east of Kent is the

large Isle of Thanet containing, according to the English way of reckoning, 600 families, divided from the other land by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs over, and fordable only in two places, for both ends of it run into the sea. In this island landed the servant of our Lord, Augustine, and his companions; being, as is reported, nearly forty men. They had, by order of the blessed Pope Gregory, taken interpreters of the nation of the Franks, and sending to Ethelbert, signified that they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to all that took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end, with the living and true God.

The king having heard this, ordered them to stay in that island where they had landed, and that they should be furnished with all necessaries, till he should consider what to do with them. For he had before heard of the Christian religion, having a Christian wife of the royal family of the Franks, called Bertha; whom he had received from her parents, upon condition that she should be permitted to practise her religion with the Bishop Luidhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith.

Some days after, the king came into the island, and sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him. But they came furnished with Divine, not with magic virtue, bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our

Lord and Saviour painted on a board ; and singing the litany, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were come. When he had sat down, pursuant to the king's commands, and preached to him and to his attendants there present the word of life, the king answered thus : " Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain import I cannot approve of them so far as to forsake that which I have so long followed with the whole English nation. But because you are come from far into my kingdom, and, as I conceive, are desirous to impart to us those things which you believe to be true and most beneficial, we will not molest you, but give you favourable entertainment, and take care to supply you with your necessary sustenance ; nor do we forbid you to preach and gain as many as you can to your religion." Accordingly he permitted them to reside in the city of Canterbury, which was the metropolis of all his dominions, and, pursuant to his promise, besides allowing them sustenance did not refuse them liberty to preach. It is reported that, as they drew near to the city, after their manner, with the holy cross, and the image of our Sovereign Lord and King, Jesus Christ, they, in concert, sang this litany : " We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city, and from thy holy house, because we have sinned. Hallelujah."

As soon as they entered the dwelling-place assigned to them, they began to imitate the course of life practised in the primitive church ; applying themselves to frequent prayer, watching, and fasting ; preaching the word of life to as many as they could ; despising all worldly

things as not belonging to them ; receiving only their necessary food from those they taught ; living themselves in all respects conformably to what they prescribed to others, and being always disposed to suffer any adversity, and even to die for that truth which they preached. In short, several believed and were baptised, admiring the simplicity of their simple life, and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine. There was on the east side of the city a church dedicated to the honour of St Martin, built whilst the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen, who, as has been said before, was a Christian, used to pray. In this they first began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptise, till the king, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach openly, and build or repair churches in all places.

When he, amongst the rest, induced by the unspotted life of these holy men, and their delightful promises, which, by many miracles, they proved to be most certain, believed and was baptised, greater numbers began daily to flock together to hear the word, and, forsaking their heathen rites, to associate themselves, by believing, to the unity of the church of Christ. Their conversion the king so far encouraged, as that he compelled none to embrace Christianity, but only shewed more affection to the believers, as to his fellow citizens in the heavenly kingdom. For he had learnt from his instructors and leaders to salvation, that the service of Christ ought to be voluntary, not by compulsion. Nor was it long before he gave his teachers a settled residence in his metropolis of Canterbury, with such possessions of different kinds as were necessary for their subsistence.



## 2. THE CONVERSION OF NORTHUMBRIA

[BAEDA'S *Ecclesiastical History*]

Nearly thirty years after Augustine's landing in Kent, Edwin was head of the northern Angle kingdom of Northumbria; and in that year (626) he formally adopted Christianity as the religion of his kingdom.

The king, hearing these words, answered, that he was both willing and bound to receive the faith which he taught; but that he would confer about it with his principal friends and counsellors, to the end that if they were of his opinion they might altogether be cleansed in Christ the Fountain of Life. Paulinus consenting, the king did as he said; for, holding a council with the wise men, he asked of every one in particular what he thought of the new doctrine, and the new worship that was preached. To which the chief of his priests, Coifi, immediately answered, "O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us; for I verily declare to you, that the religion which we have hitherto professed has so far as I can learn no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I; and yet there are many who receive greater favours from you, and are more preferred than I, and more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them. It remains, therefore, that if upon examination you find these new doctrines, which are now preached to us, better and more efficacious, we immediately receive them without any delay."

Another of the king's chief men, approving of his

words and exhortations, presently added : “The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of the sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and mist prevail abroad ; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within is safe from the wintry storm ; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short time, but of what went before, or of what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed.” The other elders and king’s counsellors, by Divine inspiration, spoke to the same effect.

But Coifi added that he wished more attentively to hear Paulinus discourse concerning the God whom he preached ; which Paulinus having by the king’s command performed, Coifi, hearing his word, cried out, “I have long since been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worshipped ; because the more diligently I sought after truth in that worship, the less I found it. But now I freely confess, that such truth evidently appears in this preaching as can confer on us the gifts of life, of salvation, and of eternal happiness. For which reason I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefits from them.” In short, the king publicly gave his licence to Paulinus to preach the Gospel, and, renouncing idolatry, declared that he received the faith of Christ ; and when he

enquired of the high priest who should first profane the altars and temples of their idols, with the enclosures that were about them, he answered, "I ; for who can more properly than myself destroy those things which I have worshipped through ignorance, for an example to all others, through the wisdom which has been given me by the true God ?" Then immediately, in contempt of his former superstitions, he desired the king to furnish him with arms and a stallion ; and mounting the same, he set out to destroy the idols ; for it was not lawful before for the high priest either to carry arms, or to ride on any but a mare. Having, therefore, girt a sword about him, with a spear in his hand, he mounted the king's stallion and proceeded to the idols. The multitude, beholding it, concluded he was distracted ; but he lost no time, for as soon as he drew near the temple he profaned the same, casting into it the spear which he held ; and rejoicing in the knowledge of the worship of the true God, he commanded his companions to destroy the temple with all its enclosures, by fire. This place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York, to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingham, where the high priest, by the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he had himself consecrated.

## 3. THE YOUTH OF KING ALFRED

[ASSER'S *Life of Alfred*]

Alfred the great was the fourth son of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, whose father Egbert had secured the general over-lordship. Alfred was born in 849.

I think it right in this place briefly to relate as much as has come to my knowledge about the character of my reverend lord Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, during the years that he was an infant and a boy.

He was loved by his father and mother, and even by all the people, above all his brothers, and was educated altogether at the court of the king. As he advanced through the years of infancy and youth, his form appeared more comely than that of his brothers; in look, in speech, and in manners he was more graceful than they. His noble nature implanted in him from his cradle a love of wisdom above all things; but, with shame be it spoken, by the unworthy neglect of his parents and nurses, he remained illiterate even till he was twelve years old or more; but he listened with serious attention to the Saxon poems which he often heard recited, and easily retained them in his docile memory. He was a zealous practiser of hunting in all its branches, and hunted with great assiduity and success; for skill and good fortune in this art, as in all others, are among the gifts of God, as we also have often witnessed.

On a certain day, therefore, his mother was showing him and his brothers a Saxon book of poetry, which she held in her hand, and said, "Whichever of you shall the soonest learn this volume shall have it for his own."

Stimulated by these words, or rather by the Divine inspiration, and allured by the beautifully illuminated letter at the beginning of the volume, he spoke before all his brothers, who, though his seniors in age, were not so in grace, and answered, "Will you really give that book to one of us, that is to say, to him who can first repeat it to you?" At this his mother smiled with satisfaction, and confirmed what she had before said. Upon which the boy took the book out of her hand, and went to his master to read it, and in due time brought it to his mother and recited it.

#### 4. THE DANISH INVASIONS

[*Old English Chronicle*]

The precise dates at this period are uncertain. The Danes had been raiding England throughout the reign of Ethelwulf, who was still king in 856; in which year they for the first time wintered on English soil. Four brothers, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and finally Alfred, reigned in succession: the following section covers the period from the last years of Ethelwulf to the accession of Alfred.

An. DCCC.LV. (DCCC.LVI). In this year heathen men first took up their quarters over winter in Sheppey. And in the same year king Aethelwulf chartered the tenth part of his land over all his kingdom, for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation: and in the same year went to Rome with great pomp, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned home; and Charles, king of the Franks, then gave him his daughter for queen; and after that he came to his people, and they were rejoiced thereat; and two years after he came from France he died, and his body lies

at Winchester, and he reigned eighteen years and a half. And then Aethelwulf's two sons succeeded to the kingdom; Aethelbald to the kingdom of the West Saxons, and Aethelbryht to the kingdom of the Kentish people, and to the kingdom of the East Saxons, and to Surrey, and to the kingdom of the South Saxons. And then Aethelbald reigned five years. Aelfred, his third son, he had sent to Rome; and when Pope Leo heard that he (Aethelwulf) was dead, he blessed Aelfred as king, and held him to episcopal hands, as his father Aethelwulf in sending him hither had requested.

An. DCCC.LX. (DCCC.LXI). In this year king Aethelbald died, and his body lies at Sherborne; and Aethelbryht succeeded to all the kingdom of his brother; and he held it in good harmony and in great tranquillity. And in his day there came a great naval force to land, and took Winchester by storm. And the caldorman Osric with the Hampshire men, and the caldorman Aethelwulf with those of Berkshire, fought against the army and put them to flight and held possession of the battle place. And Aethelbryht reigned five years, and his body lies at Sherborne.

An. DCCC.LXV. (DCCC.LXVI). In this year a heathen army took up their quarters in Thanet and made peace with the people of Kent, and the people of Kent promised them money for the peace; and, during the peace and the promise of money, the army stole itself away by night, and ravaged all Kent eastward.

An. DCCC.LXVI. (DCCC.LXVII). In this year Aethered (Aethelred), Aethelbryht's brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And in the same year came a great heathen army to the land of the Angle race, and took winter quarters among the East Angles,

and were there horsed; and they (the East Angles) made peace with them

An. DCCC.LXVII. (DCCC.LXVIII). In this year the army went from the East Angles, over the mouth of the Humber, to York and Northumbria; and there was great dissension of the people betwixt themselves; and they had cast out their king, Osbryht, and received a king, Aella, not of royal blood; and late in the year they came to the resolution that they would fight against the army; and yet they gathered a large force, and sought the army at York, and stormed the city, and some got within, and there was an immense slaughter made of the Northumbrians, some within, some without; and both kings were slain; and the remainder made peace with the army. And in the same year bishop Ealhstan died; and he had the bishopric of Sherborne fifty winters; and his body lies there in the town.

An. DCCC.LXVIII. (DCCC.LXIX). In this year the same army went into Mercia to Nottingham, and there took up winter quarters. And Burhred, king of the Mercians, and his witan, prayed Aethered, king of the West Saxons, and Aelfred his brother, that they would aid them that they might fight against the army. And they then went with a force of West Saxons, in Mercia, as far as Nottingham, and there found the army in the works, and there besieged them. But there was no hard battle there; and the Mercians made peace with the army.

An. DCCC.LXX. (DCCC.LXXI). In this year the army rode over Mercia into East Anglia, and took winter quarters at Thetford; and in that winter king Eadmund fought against them, and the Danes gained the victory, and slew the king, and subdued all the land, and

destroyed all the monasteries which they came to. The names of the chiefs who slew the king were Ingvar and Ubba. At that same time they came to Medeshamstede, burned and broke, slew the abbot and the monks, and all that they found there; then made that which was erst full rich, that it was reduced to nothing. And in the same year died archbishop Ceolnoth at Rome. And Aethered, bishop of Wiltshire, was chosen archbishop of Canterbury.

An. DCCC.LXXI. (DCCC.LXXII). In this year the army came to Reading in Wessex, and three nights after, two jarls rode up, when the ealdorman Aethelwulf met them at Inglefield, and there fought against them, and gained the victory, and one of them was slain, whose name was Sidroc. Four nights after this king Aethered and Aelfred his brother led a large force to Reading, and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on each side; and the ealdorman Aethelwulf was slain, and the Danes took possession of the battle place. And four nights after, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought with all the army at Ashdown; and they were in two divisions; in one were Bagsecg (Bagsecg) and Halfdan, the heathen kings, and in the other were the jarls; and then king Aethered fought with the king's division, and there was the king Bagsecg slain; and Aelfred his brother fought against the jarls' division, and there were the elder jarl Sidroc slain, and the younger jarl Sidroc, and Asbiorn jarl, and Fræna jarl, and Harald jarl, and both divisions put to flight, and many thousands slain; and they were fighting until night. And fourteen nights after, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought against the army at Basing, and there the Danes gained the victory. And



two months after, king Aethered and Aelfred his brother fought against the army at Merton; and they were in two divisions, and they put both to flight, and far in the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on each side, but the Danes held possession of the battle place; and there were bishop Heahmund slain and many good men. And after this fight there came a great summer force to Reading. And the Easter after, king Aethered died; and he reigned five years, and his body lies in Wimborne monastery.

## 5. ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF ASHDOWN

[ASSER'S *Life of Alfred*]

An account, from another hand, of the battle of Ashdown, described in the last section.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 871 which was the twenty-third of king Alfred's life, the pagan army, of hateful memory, left the East Angles, and entering the kingdom of the West Saxons, came to the royal city, called Reading, situated on the south bank of the Thames, in the district called Berkshire; and there, on the third day after their arrival, their jarls, with great part of the army, scoured the country for plunder, while the others made a rampart between the rivers Thames and Kennet on the right side of the royal city. They were encountered by Ethelwulf, ealdorman of Berkshire, with his men, at a place called Englefield; both sides fought bravely, and made long resistance. At length one of the pagan jarls was slain, and the greater part of the army destroyed; upon which the

rest saved themselves by flight, and the Christians gained the victory.

Four days afterwards, Ethelred, king of the West Saxons and his brother Alfred, united their forces and marched to Reading, where, on their arrival, they cut to pieces the pagans whom they found outside the fortifications. But the pagans, nevertheless, sallied out from the gates, and a long and fierce engagement ensued. At last, grief to say, the Christians fled, the pagans obtained the victory, and the aforesaid ealdorman Ethelwulf was among the slain.

Roused by this calamity, the Christians, in shame and indignation, within four days assembled all their forces, and again encountered the pagan army at a place called Ashdune which means the "Hill of the Ash." The pagans had divided themselves into two bodies, and began to prepare defences, for they had two kings and many jarls, so they gave the middle part of the army to the two kings, and the other part to all their jarls. Which the Christians perceiving, they divided their army also into two troops, and also began to construct defences. But Alfred, as we have been told by those who were present and would not tell an untruth, marched up promptly with his men to give them battle; for king Ethelred remained a long time in his tent for prayer, hearing the mass, and said that he would not leave it till the priest had done, nor abandon the divine protection for that of men. And he did so too, which afterwards availed him much with the Almighty as we shall declare more fully in the sequel.

Now the Christians had determined that king Ethelred, with his men, should attack the two pagan

kings, but that his brother Alfred, with his troops should take the chance of war against the two jarls. Things being so arranged, the king remained a long time in prayer, and the pagans came up rapidly to fight. Then Alfred, though possessing a subordinate authority, could no longer support the troops of the enemy, unless he retreated or charged upon them without waiting for his brother. At length he bravely led his troops against the hostile army, as they had before arranged, but without waiting for his brother's arrival; for he relied on the divine counsels, and forming his men into a dense phalanx, marched on at once to meet the foe.

But here I must tell those who are ignorant of the fact, that the field of battle was not equally advantageous to both parties. The pagans occupied the higher ground, and the Christians came up from below. There was also a single thorn-tree, of stunted growth, but we have ourselves never seen it. Around this tree the opposing armies came together with loud shouts from all sides, the one party to pursue their wicked course, the other to fight for their lives, their dearest ties, and their country. And when both armies had fought long and bravely, at last the pagans, by the divine judgment, were no longer able to bear the attacks of the Christians, and having lost the greater part of their army, took to a disgraceful flight. One of their two kings, and five jarls, were there slain, together with many thousand pagans, who fell on all sides, covering with their bodies the whole plain of Ashdune.

There fell in that battle king Bagsac, jarl Sidrac the elder, and jarl Sidrac the younger, jarl Osbern, jarl

Frene, and jarl Harald; and the whole pagan army pursued its flight, not only until evening but until the next day, even until they reached the stronghold from which they had sallied. The Christians followed, slaying all they could reach, until it became dark.

After fourteen days had elapsed, king Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, again joined their forces and marched to Basing to fight the pagans. The enemy came together from all quarters, and after a long contest gained the victory. After this battle, another army came from beyond the sea, and joined them.

The same year after Easter, the aforesaid king Ethelred, having bravely, honourably, and with good repute, governed his kingdom five years, through much tribulation, went the way of all flesh, and was buried in Wimborne Minster, where he awaits the coming of the Lord, and the first resurrection with the just.

## 6. THE FIRST STRUGGLE OF KING ALFRED

[*Old English Chronicle*]

An account of Alfred's struggle with the Danes from his accession in 871 till the treaty of Wedmore in 878. The treaty in effect ceded to the Danes one half of England, of which they were already practically masters. This portion, the Danelagh, was that which lies north and east of a line drawn roughly from Chester to London.

Then Aelfred, his brother, son of Aethelwulf, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons; and one month after, king Aelfred, with a small force fought against all the army at Wilton, and far in the day put



Map of the English kingdoms  
 (Showing the Danelagh)

them to flight ; but the Danes held possession of the battle place. And this year nine great battles were fought against the army in the kingdom south of the Thames ; besides which, Aelfred, the king's brother, and individual ealdormen, and king's thanes, often rode raids on them, which were not reckoned. And within the year nine jarls and one king were slain ; and that year the West Saxons made peace with the army.

An. DCCC.LXXII. (DCCC.LXXIII). In this year the army went from Reading to London, and there took winter quarters ; and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

An. DCCC.LXXIII. (DCCC.LXXIV). In this year the army went to Northumbria, and took winter quarters at Torksey in Lindsey ; and then the Mercians made peace with the army.

An. DCCC.LXXIV. (DCCC.LXXV). In this year the army went from Lindsey to Repton, and there took winter quarters, and drove the king Burhred over sea, two and twenty winters after he had obtained the kingdom, and they subdued all the land ; and he went to Rome, and there settled, and his body lies in St Mary's church, in the school of the Angle race. And in the same year they gave the kingdom of Mercia to the custody of Ceolwulf, an unwise king's thane ; and he swore oaths to them and gave hostages, that it should be ready for them, on whatever day they would have it ; and that he would be ready in his own person, and with all who would follow him, for the behoof of the army.

An. DCCC.LXXV. (DCCC.LXXVI). In this year the army went from Repton ; and Halfdan went with a part of the army into Northumbria, and took winter

quarters by the river Tyne ; and the army subdued the land and often harried on the Picts and on the Strathclyde Welsh ; and the three kings Guthorm, and Oskytel, and Amund, went from Repton to Cambridge with a large army, and sat there one year. And in the summer, king Aelfred went out to sea with a naval force, and fought against the crews of seven ships, and took one of them, and put to flight the others.

An. DCCC.LXXVI. (DCCC.LXXVII). In this year the army stole away to Wareham, a fortress of the West Saxons ; and after that the king made peace with the army ; and they gave to the king as hostages those who were most honourable in the army, and they then swore oaths to him on the holy ring, which they before would not do for any nation, that they would speedily depart from his kingdom ; and notwithstanding this, the mounted body stole away from the army by night to Exeter. And in that year Halfdan divided the Northumbrians' lands, and from that time they were ploughing and tilling them. In this year Rolf (Rollo) overran Normandy with his army, and he reigned fifty summers.

An. DCCC.LXXVII. (DCCC.LXXVIII). In this year the army came to Exeter from Wareham ; and the naval force sailed west about ; and then a great storm met them at sea, and there perished a hundred and twenty ships at Swanwick. And king Aelfred, with his force, rode after the mounted army as far as Exeter, but could not overtake them before they were in the fastness, where they could not be come at. And they there gave him as many hostages as he would have, and swore great oaths, and then held good peace. And then, in the autumn, the army went into the Mercians' land, and divided some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf.

AN. DCCC.LXXVIII. (DCCC.LXXIX). In this year at Midwinter, after Twelfth Night, the army stole away to Chippenham, and harried the West Saxons' land, and settled there, and drove many of the people over sea, and of the remainder the greater portion they harried, and the people submitted to them, save the king Aelfred, and he, with a little band, withdrew to the woods and moor-fastnesses. And in the same



**White Horse, Heddington**

*(The traditional scene of Alfred's victory)*

winter the brother of Ingvar and Halfdan was in Wessex, in Devonshire with twenty-three ships, and he was there slain, and with him eight hundred and forty men of his force. And there was the standard taken which they call the Raven. And the Easter after, Aelfred, with a little band, wrought a fortress at Aethelney, and from that work warred on the army, with that portion of the men of Somerset that was



nearest. Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Aegbryht's stone, on the east of Selwood, and there came to meet him all the Somersetshire men, and the Wiltshire men, and that part of Hampshire which remained of it on this side of the sea; and they were rejoiced on seeing him; and one night after, he went from the camp to Iley, and one night after that to Ethandun (Heddington?), and there fought against all the army, and put it to flight, and rode after it, as far as the works, and there sat fourteen nights. And then the army gave him hostages, with great oaths that they would depart from his kingdom; and also promised him that their king should receive baptism; and that they so fulfilled; and three weeks after, king Guthorm came to him, with thirty of the men who were most honourable in the army, at Aller, which is opposite to Athelney; and the king received him there at baptism; and his chrim-loosing was at Wedmore; and he was twelve nights with the king; and he largely gifted him and his companions with money.

## 7. ALFRED'S FINAL STRUGGLE

[*Old English Chronicle*]

After fourteen years of peace, fresh hosts of Danish invaders began to fling themselves on the English shores. This time the final victory rested more decisively with Alfred, whose son and grandsons completely established the supremacy of the house of Wessex over all England.

An. DCCC.XCII. (DCCC.XCIII.) In this year the great army, of which we long before spoke, came again from the east kingdom westward to Boulogne, and was there shipped, so that they in one voyage made the transit, with horses and all; and they came up to the

mouth of the Limen with two hundred and fifty ships. The mouth is in the east of Kent, at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred. The wood is, from east to west, one hundred and twenty miles long or longer, and thirty miles broad. The river, of which we before spoke, flows out from the weald. On the river they towed up their ships as far as the weald, four miles from the outward mouth, and there stormed a work; within the fastness a few countrymen were stationed, and it was only half constructed. Then, soon after that, came Haesten with eighty ships into the Thames' mouth, and wrought him a work at Middleton (Milton), and the other army one at Appledore.

An. DCCC.XCIV. In this year, that was a twelve-month after they had wrought a work in the east kingdom, Northumbria and East Anglia had given oaths to king Aelfred, and East Anglia six hostages; and yet, against the compact, as often as the other armies with all their force went out, then they went out, either with them or on their side. And then king Aelfred gathered his force and went until he encamped between the two armies the nearest where he had room, for wood-fastness and water-fastness, so that he might reach either, if they would seek any field. Then after that, they went through the weald in bands and troops, on whichever side was then without a force. And they also were sought by other bands, almost every day, or by night, both from the (king's) force and also from the burghs. The king had divided his force into two, so that they were constantly half at home, half abroad, besides those men who held the burghs. The whole army did not come out of their quarters oftener than twice; one time, when they first came to land, before the (king's)

force was assembled ; the other time, when they would go from their own quarters.

They had then taken a great booty, and would convey it northwards over the Thames into Essex towards the ships. The (king's) force then rode before them, and fought against them at Farnham, and put the army to flight, and rescued the booty ; and they fled over the Thames without any ford and then up by the Colne to an island. The (royal) army then beset them there from without, for the longest time that they had provisions ; but they had then stayed their appointed time and consumed their provisions ; and the king was then on his march thitherwards with the division which was advancing with himself. Then he was thitherwards and the other force was homeward, and the Danish remained there behind, because their king had been wounded in the fight, so that he could not be conveyed. Then those who dwelt with the Northumbrians and with the East Angles gathered some hundred ships, and went south about, and besieged a work in Devonshire by the north sea ; and those who went south about besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, he turned west towards Exeter with all the force, save a very powerful body of the people eastwards. These went on until they came to London, and then, with the townsmen and with the aid which came to them from the west, marched east to Benfleet. Haesten was then come there with his army, which had previously sat at Middleton (Milton) ; and the great army also was come thereto, which had before sat at the mouth of the Limen, at Appledore. Haesten had before wrought the work at Benfleet, and was then gone out harrying, and the great army was at home. They then marched up and put the army to flight, and

stormed the work, and took all that there was within, as well money as women and children, and brought all to London; and all the ships they either broke in pieces, or burned, or brought to London, or to Rochester, and Haesten's wife and his two sons were brought to the king, and he restored them to him, because one of them was his godson, the other the ealdorman Aethered's. They had been their sponsors before Haesten came to Benfleet, and he had given them oaths and hostages; and the king had also given much money, and so likewise, when he gave up the boys and woman. But as soon as they came to Benfleet, and had wrought the work, he harried on that end of his realm which Aethered his gossip had to defend; and again, a second time, he had arrived on a plundering expedition on that same kingdom, when his work was taken by storm.

When the king turned west with his force towards Exeter, as I before said, and the army had beset the burgh, when he had arrived there they went to their ships. While he was busied in the west against the army there, and both the armies had formed a junction at Shoebury in Essex, and there wrought a work, they then went both together up along the Thames, and a great increase came to them, both from the East Angles and the Northumbrians. They then went up along the Thames, until they reached the Severn, then up along the Severn. Then the ealdorman Aethered, and the ealdorman Aethelm, and the ealdorman Aethelnoth, and the king's thanes, who were then at home in the works, gathered together, from every town east of the Parret, as well west as east of Selwood, as also north of the Thames and west of the Severn and also some part of the North Welsh race. When they were all gathered

together, they followed after the army to Buttington on the bank of the Severn, and there beset them on every side in a fastness. When they had sat there many weeks on the two sides of the river, and the king was west in Devon against the naval force, they were distressed for want of food, and had eaten a great part of their horses, and the others had died of hunger; they then went out to the men who were encamped on the east side of the river, and fought against them, and the Christians had the victory. And there was Ordheh, a king's thane, slain, and also many other king's thanes were slain; and of the Danish there was a very great slaughter made; and the part that came away then was saved by flight. When they came into Essex to their work and to their ships, the remnant gathered again a great army from the East Angles and from the Northumbrians, before winter, and committed their wives and their ships and their chattels to the East Angles, and went at one stretch, by day and night, until they arrived at a desolated city in Wirrall, which is called Legaceaster (Chester). Then could the force not overtake them before they were within the work; they however beset the work from without for two days, and took all the cattle which was there without, and slew the men that they might intercept outside of the work, and burned all the corn, and with their horses consumed it on every plain. And that was a twelvemonth after they had come over sea hither.

An. DCCC.XCV. And then soon after that, in this year, the army went from Wirrall, because they could not abide there, into Wales; that was because they had been deprived both of the cattle and of the corn which they had obtained by plunder. When they had again wended out of North Wales with the booty which they

had there taken, they went over Northumberland and East Anglia, so that the (king's) force could not reach them, until they came into the eastward part of the East Saxons' land, to an island that is out in the sea, which is called Mersey. And when the army which had beset Exeter again turned homewards, they harried on the South Saxons near Chichester, and the townsfolk put them to flight and slew many hundreds of them, and took some of their ships. Then, in the same year, before winter, the Danish who sat in Mersey towed their ships up the Thames and then up the Lea. This was two years after they had come over the sea hither.

AN. DCCC.XCVI. In the same year the forementioned army had wrought a work on the Lea, twenty miles above London. Then, in the summer after, a great number of the townspeople, and also of the other folk, went until they came to the Danish work, and were there put to flight, and some four king's thanes slain. Then afterwards, during harvest, the king encamped in the neighbourhood of the town, while the people reaped their corn, so that the Danish might not deprive them of the crop. Then one day the king rode up by the river and observed where the river might be obstructed so that they might not bring out their ships. And they then did so; they wrought two works on the two sides of the river. When they had actually begun the work, and had encamped thereby, then the army perceived that they could not bring out their ships. They then abandoned them and went over land, until they arrived at Quatbridge (Bridge). That was three years after they had come hither over sea to the mouth of the Limen.

AN. DCCC.XCVII. Then the summer after, in this

year, the army went, some to East Anglia, some to Northumbria; and they who were moneyless got themselves ships, and went south over sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God, the army had not utterly broken up the Angle race; but they were much more broken, in those three years, by a mortality of cattle and men; most of all thereby, that many of the king's most excellent thanes that were in the land died in those three years: of these one was Swithulf, bishop of Rochester, and Ceolmund, ealdorman of Kent, and Beorhtulf, ealdorman of the East Saxons, and Wulfred, ealdorman of Hampshire, and Ealhheard, bishop of Dorchester, and Eadulf, a king's thane in Sussex, and Beornulf, wick-reeve at Winchester, and Ecgulf, the king's horse-thane, and many also besides these, although I have named the most eminent. In the same year the armies from the East Angles and Northumbrians harassed the West Saxons' land very much, on the south coast, by predatory bands; (though) most of all by the long-ships (aescas), which they had built many years before. Then king Aelfred commanded long-ships to be built against them, which were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, some more; they were both swifter and steadier, and also higher than the others; they were shapen neither as the Frisian nor as the Danish, but as it seemed to himself that they might be most useful. Then on a certain time in the same year there came six ships to Wight, and did there much evil, both in Devon and elsewhere on the seashore.

Then the king commanded (his men) to go thither with nine of the new ships and they blockaded against them the mouth into the outer sea. They then went with three ships out against them, and three lay high

up in the mouth, in the dry : the men were gone off on shore. They then took two of the three ships at the outward mouth, and slew the men, and the one escaped, in which also the men were killed, save five, who came away because the ships of the others were aground. They were also aground very inconveniently ; three were aground on the side of the deep on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the others on the other side, so that not one of them could get to the others. But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danish went from the three ships to the other three which had been left by the ebb on their side, and they then fought there. There were slain Lucumon the king's reeve, and Wulfhard the Frisian, and Aebbe the Frisian, and Aethelhere the Frisian, and Aethelferth the king's companion, and of all the men, Frisian and English sixty-two, and of the Danish a hundred and twenty. But then the flood came to the Danish ships before the Christians could shove theirs out : and they therefore rowed away out ; they were then so damaged that they could not row round the South Saxons' land, for there the sea cast two of them on land, and the men were led to the king at Winchester, and he commanded them to be there hanged ; and the men who were in the one ship came to East Anglia sorely wounded. In the same summer no less than twenty ships, with men and everything perished on the south coast. In the same year died Wulfric the king's horse-thane, who was also Welsh-reeve.

AN. DCCCC.L. In this year died Aelfred son of Athulf (Aethelwulf), six nights before All-hallowmass (Oct. 26th). He was king over all the Angle race, except part that was under the dominion of the Danes ; and he



held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty winters. And then Edward his son succeeded to the kingdom.



The Alfred Jewel

(Discovered near Athelney in 1693. It bears the inscription :  
AELFRED • MEC • HEHT • GEWYRCAN, i.e. Alfred had me made)

### 3. SELECTIONS FROM THE DOOMS OF KING ALFRED

[*Rolls Series*]

Alfred, as great in peace as in war, organised the government and drew up a code of laws from which the passages collected in this section are excerpts.

I, then, Alfred, king, gathered these dooms together, and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and many of those which seemed to me not good I rejected, by the counsel of my "witan," and in otherwise commanded them to be holden; for I durst not venture to set down in writing much of my own, for it was unknown to me what of it would please those who should come after us. But those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine my kinsman, or of Offa

king of the Mercians, or of Aethelbryht, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the rightest, those I have here gathered together, and rejected the others.

I, then, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, showed these all to my "witan," and they then said that it seemed good to them all to be holden.

4. If any one plot against the king's life, of himself, or by harbouring of exiles, or of his men; let him be liable in his life and in all that he has. If he desire to prove himself true, let him do so according to the king's "wer-gild." So also we ordain for all degrees, whether ceorl or eorl. He who plots against his lord's life, let him be liable in his life to him and in all that he has; or let him prove himself true according to his lord's "wer."

27. If a man kinless of paternal relatives, fight, and slay a man, and then if he have maternal relatives, let them pay a third of the "wer"; his guild-brethren a third part; for a third let him flee. If he have no maternal relatives, let his guild-brethren pay half, for half let him flee.

28. If a man kill a man thus circumstanced, if he have no relatives, let half be paid to the king; half to his guild-brethren.

29. If any one with a "hloth," [company] slay an unoffending "twy-hynde" man, let him who acknowledges the death-blow pay "wer" and "wite"; and let every man who was of the party pay XXX shillings as "hloth-bot."

30. If it be a six-"hynde" man, let every man pay LX shillings as hloth-bot; and the slayer "wer" and full "wite."

31. If he be a twelve-“hynde” man, let each of them pay one hundred and twenty shillings ; and the slayer, “wer” and “wite.” If a hloth do this and afterwards will deny it on oath, let them all be accused, and let them all pay the “wer” in common ; and all, one “wite” such as shall belong to the “wer.”

40. The king’s “*burh-bryce*” shall be CXX shillings. An archbishop’s, ninety shillings. Any other bishop’s, and an “ealdorman’s,” LX shillings. A twelve-“hynde” man’s, XXX shillings. A six-hynde man’s, XV shillings. A ceorl’s “*edor-bryce*,” V shillings. If aught of this happen when the fyrd is out, or in Lent fast, let the bot be twofold. If any one in Lent put down holy law among the people without leave, let him make “bot” with CXX shillings.

42. We also command: that the man who knows his foe to be home-sitting fight not before he demand justice of him. If he have such power as he can beset his foe, and besiege him within, let him keep him within for VII days, and attack him not, if he will remain within. And then after VII days, if he will surrender, and deliver up his weapons, let him be kept safe for XXX days, and let notice of him be given to his kinsmen and friends. If, however, he flee to a church, then let it be according to the sanctity of the church ; as we have before said above. But if he have not sufficient power to besiege him within, let him ride to the ealdorman, and beg aid of him. If he will not aid him, let him ride to the king before he fights. In like manner also, if a man come upon his foe, and he did not before know him to be home-staying ; if he be willing to deliver up his weapons, let him be kept for XXX days, and let notice of him be given to his friends ; if he will

not deliver up his weapons then he may attack him. If he be willing to surrender, and to deliver up his weapons, and any one after that attack him, let him pay as well "wer" as wound, as he may do, and "wite," and let him have forfeited his "mæg"-ship. We also declare, that for his lord a man may fight "orwige" if any one attack the lord: thus may the lord fight for his man. After the same wise, a man may fight for his born kinsman, if a man attack him wrongfully, except against his lord: that we do not allow. And a man may fight "orwige," if he find another with his lawful wife, within closed doors, or under one covering, or with his lawfully born daughter, or with his lawfully born sister, or with his mother, who was given to his father as his lawful wife.

4. *Wer-gild*; the compensation payable to the kin of a man slain, the amount of which was fixed according to a regular scale. Distinguished from the *wite*, the fine payable to the state for breaking the law.

29. *Hloth*; company, gang, band. *Bol*; compensation. *Wite*, see *Wer-gild*. *Tung hynde man*; a ceorl whose wergild was 200 shillings.

30. *Six-hynde man*; one whose wergild was 600 shillings.

40. *Burh-bryce*; penalty for breaking into a man's dwelling. *Edor-bryce*; the same, but applying to the house of a person of lower rank. *Fyrd*, the military levy of the shire.

42. *Magship*; membership of a kindred. *Orwige*; without creating a personal or family feud.

9. THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

[*Old English Chronicle*]

In 937, Athelstan, grandson of Alfred, was king of all England. In that year a great host of Northmen, from their colonies in Ireland and from elsewhere, landed in the north of England, acting in concert with Britons and with Constantine, king of the Scots. The lay of Brunanburh recounts their overwhelming defeat.

An. DCCCC.XXXVII. In this year king Aethelstan and Eadmund his brother led a force to Brunanburh, and there fought against Olaf (Anlaf) and, Christ aiding, had victory; and they slew five kings and seven jarls.

Aethelstan, earls' lord, bestower of war-rings,  
With him his brother, the aetheling Eadmund,  
Life-long glory won them in war,  
With edge of their broadswords,  
At Brunanburh.  
Clave through the shield-wall the brood of king Eadward,  
Hewed the war-linden with blades hammer-wrought;  
Born in their blood was it, from their forefathers;  
That they in frequent fight 'gainst every foe  
Their land should defend, treasure and homes.  
Low lay the foe there, the Scots folk, the Shipfolk,  
Death-doomed they fell.

Streamed the field wet with the blood of the warmen,  
From the first dawning, when up rose the sun,  
Star of most glory, glided along the land,  
God's blazing torch, the Lord's Everlasting,  
Till to his setting in splendour he sank.

Thick lay the heroes then, scattered by javelins,  
O'er the shield smitten, the men of the North;

Folk too of Scotland, weary, war-sated.  
Forth the West Saxons, in warrior bands,  
The live-long day,  
Followed the feet of the folk of the foemen.  
Hewed they the flying folk,  
Thrust through their backs amain,  
Sharp were their swords,  
Hard was the hand-play the Mercians refused not  
To one of the warriors wending with Anlaf,  
Who o'er the surging seas in the ship's bosom,  
Doomed in the fight to die, fared to our land.

Young on the battle-field five gallant kings lay,  
By swords sent to sleep; of Anlaf's jarls seven,  
Out of the huge host, Shipfolk and Scots.  
Driven in flight was the chief of the Northmen,  
Forced in his need to the prow of the long-ship,  
Few were his folk,  
Sped o'er the sea the bark, fled the king in her,  
Over the fallow flood, saving his life.  
Constantine came there in flight too, the aged one,  
Back to his northern land, warrior hoary,  
In small need of triumph from clashing of swords,  
Reft of his kinsfolk, shorn of his friends;  
Dead on the trysting place, fallen in fight,  
Left he his son there, slain in the slaughter place,  
Young in the warfare, mangled with wounds.

Needs he no boasting for hurtling of bills,  
The grizzly haired chieftain, ancient deceiver;  
Nor more than he Anlaf, with rags of their hosts.  
Needs not they laugh, how they were the better,  
There in the war-work, there at the battle-stead,  
Rushing of banners, clatter of javelins,

Trysting of foe-men, clanging of weapons—  
How on the slaughter-place played they the war-game  
With Eadward's brood.

In their nailed galleys the Northmen departed,  
Remnant the darts left, red with their gore:  
Over the lashing waves, over the waters deep,  
Making for Dublin and Ireland again,  
Humbled and shamed.

Together the brothers, the King and the Aetheling,  
Fared to their country, the West Saxon land,  
Exulting in war.

Left they behind them, to share the pale corpses,  
Blackness of ravens, the bird of the horned beak,  
To gorge on the carrion,  
White-tailed eagles, splendidly plumed,  
Ravening kites and grey wolves of the weald.

Mightier slaughter this isle saw never  
Of folk laid low by the edge of the sword.  
Since from the east came Angles and Saxons  
Over the wide waves hither to shore;  
Warrior-smiths proud, seeking the Britons' land,  
Vanquished the Welshman, and greedy for glory  
Won the wide realm.

10. THE EVIL DAYS OF AETHELRED  
THE REDELESS*[Old English Chronicle]*

In 994 Etheled "the Redeless" was king. Sweyn of Denmark was once more renewing the Danish attacks on England. After repeated invasions, Sweyn finally set about a conquest which ended by placing Canute on the throne of England. This section deals with earlier incidents in the struggle.

An. DCCCC.XCIV. In this year came Olaf (Anlaf) and Svein to London, on the nativity of St Mary (Sept. 8th), with ninety-four ships, and then they were obstinately fighting against the town, and would also have set it on fire. But they there sustained more harm and evil than they ever weened that any townsmen could do to them. For the Lady Mother of God, on that day, manifested her mercy to the townsmen, and delivered them from their foes. And they then went thence and wrought the greatest evil that ever any army could do, in burning, harrying, and in the man-slayings, as well by the sea-coast, as in Essex, and in Kent, and in Sussex, and in Hampshire. And at last they took them horses, and rode as far as they would, and were doing unspeakable evil. Then the king and his witan resolved that they should be sent to, and promised tribute and food providing that they would cease from ravaging; and they then accepted that. And all the army then came to Southampton, and there took winter quarters; and there they were fed from all the realm of the West Saxons, and they were paid sixteen thousand pounds of money. Then the king



sent bishop Aelfheah and the ealdorman Aethelweard after king Olaf; and the while hostages were given to the ships; and they then led Olaf with great worship to the king at Andover. And king Aethelred received him at the bishop's hand, and royally gifted him. And Olaf then promised him, as he also fulfilled, that he would never again come with hostility to England.

An. M.I. In this year the army came to the mouth of the Exe, and then went up to the town, and were there stoutly fighting; but they were very firmly and boldly withstood. They then went over the land and did as was their wont, slew and burned. Then was collected an immense force of the Devonshire people, and of the Somersetshire people; and they then came together at Penhoe. And as soon as they came together the people gave ground; and they there made great slaughter, and then rode over the land: and ever was their last incursion worse than the preceding; and they then brought great booty with them to their ships. And thence they went to Wight, and there went about as they themselves would; and nothing withstood them; nor durst any approach them with a naval force by sea, nor a land force, went they ever so far up. It was then in everywise sad, because they never ceased from their evil.

An. M.II. In this year the king and his witan resolved that tribute should be paid to the fleet, and peace made with them on condition that they should cease from their evil. Then the king sent ealdorman Leofsig to the fleet, and he, according to the word of the king and his witan, settled a peace with them, and that they should receive food and tribute. And this they then accepted, and were then paid twenty-four

thousand pounds. Then in the meanwhile the ealdorman Leofsigc slew Aefic the king's high reeve, and the king banished him from the country. And then in the same autumn came the lady, Richard's daughter, Emma Aelfgifu, hither to land; and in the same summer archbishop Ealdulf died. And in that year the king commanded all the Danish men who were in England to be slain. This was done on the mass-day of St Bricius; because it had been made known to the king that they would plot against his life, and afterwards those of all his witan, and then have his realm without any gain-saying.

An. M.IV. In this year Svein came with his fleet to Norwich, and plundered and burned all that town. Then Ulfkytel with the witan of East Anglia resolved, that it were better that peace should be purchased of the army, before they did over much harm in the country; because they had come unawares, and he had not had time that he might gather his force. Then during the peace which should have been between them, the army stole up from their ships, and wended their way to Thetford. When Ulfkytel perceived that, he sent to have the ships hewn in pieces; but they whom he trusted failed him, and he then secretly gathered his force, as he best might. And the army then came to Thetford within three weeks from the time of their having before plundered Norwich, and were one night there within, and plundered and burned the town. And then in the morning, when they would go to their ships, came Ulfkytel with his army, that they might there engage together; and they there together stoutly engaged, and a great slaughter was made on each side. There were the chief of the East Angles'

folk slain; but if the full power had been there, they would never again have gone to their ships; as they themselves said, that they never met with a worse hand-play in England than Ulfkytel had brought them.

## 11. KING HAROLD

[*Old English Chronicle*]

On the death of Edward the Confessor early in 1066, Harold son of Godwin was elected king of England. William, Duke of Normandy, claimed the crown, and won it at the battle of Senlac or Hastings.

AN. M.LXVI. In this year king Harold came from York to Westminster, at the Easter which was after the Midwinter in which the king died; and Easter was then on the day the sixteenth before the Kal. of May (April 16th). Then was seen over all England such a sign in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said that it was the star Cometa, which some men called the haired star; and it first appeared on the eve of Litania major, the eighteenth before the Kal. of May (April 24th), and so shone all the seven nights. And shortly afterwards, earl Tostig came from beyond sea into Wight, with as large a fleet as he could get; and there was paid both in money and provisions.

And he then went thence, and did harm everywhere by the sea-coast where he could approach, until he came to Sandwich. Then it was made known to king Harold, who was in London, that Tostig his brother was come to Sandwich. He then gathered so great a naval force, and also a land force, as no king here in the land had before gathered; because it had for truth been said to him, that Count William from Normandy, king

Eadward's kinsman, would come hither and subdue the land, all as it afterwards came to pass. When Tostig learned that, that king Harold was proceeding towards Sandwich, he went from Sandwich, and took some of the butsecarles with him, some willingly and some unwillingly; and then went north into the Humber, and there harried in Lindsey, and there slew many good men. When earl Eadwine and earl Morkere were apprised of that, they came thither, and drove him from the land; and he then went to Scotland, and the king of the Scots gave him an asylum, and aided him with provisions, and he there abode all the summer. Then came king Harold to Sandwich, and there awaited his fleet, because it was long before it could be gathered. And when his fleet was gathered, he went to Wight, and there lay all the summer and the autumn; and a land-force was kept everywhere by the sea, though at the end it availed naught. When it was the Nativity of St Mary (Sept. 8th) the men's provisions were gone, and no man could longer keep him there. The men were then allowed to go home, and the king rode up, and the ships were driven to London, and many perished before they came hither. When the ships were come home, came king Harald from Norway, north into the Tyne, and unawares with a very large naval force. And earl Tostig came to him with all that he had got, as they had before settled; and then they both went, with all the fleet, along the Ouse, up towards York. When it was announced to king Harold in the south when he had come from on ship-board, that king Harald of Norway and earl Tostig had landed near York, he went northward, by day and by night, as speedily as he could gather his force. Then, before that king Harald

could come thither, earl Eadwine and earl Morkere had gathered from their earldom as large a body as they could get, and fought against the army, and made great slaughter, and there were many of the English people slain, and drowned, and driven in flight; and the Northmen had possession of the place of carnage. And this fight was on the vigil of Matthew the apostle (Sept. 30th), and it was Wednesday. And then, after the fight king Harald of Norway and earl Tostig went to York, with as many people as to them seemed good. And they gave them hostages from the city, and aided them in procuring food, and so they went thence to their ships, and agreed to full peace so that they should all go with him south and this land subdue. Then, during this, came Harold, king of the Angles, with all his force, on the Sunday, to Tadcaster, and there arrayed his fleet; and then on Monday went out through York. And king Harald of Norway, and earl Tostig, and their army, were gone from their ships beyond York to Stamford-bridge, because it had been promised them as certain that there, from all the shire, hostages would be brought to meet them. Then came Harold, king of the Angles, against them unawares, beyond the bridge, and they were engaged together, and were fighting very boldly long in the day; and there were king Harald of Norway, and earl Tostig slain, and numberless people with them, both Norman and English, and the Normans fled from the English. Then was there one of the Norwegians who withstood the English folk, so that they could not pass over the bridge or win the victory. Then an Englishman aimed at him with an arrow but it availed naught; and then came another under the bridge and pierced him through

under the corselet. Then came Harold, king of the Angles, over the bridge, and his force onward with him, and there made great slaughter of both Norwegians and



Ruins of Hastings Castle

Flemings ; and the king's son Hetmund Harold let go home to Norway with all the ships.

Then came William Count of Normandy to Pevensey, on St Michael's mass-eve (Sept. 28th) ; and immediately

after they were ready, they constructed a castle at the town of Hastings. This was then made known to king Harold, and he gathered a great army, and came to meet him at the hoar apple-tree. And William came against him unawares, ere his people were in the battle order. But the king, nevertheless, boldly fought against him with those men who would follow him ; and there was a great slaughter made on each side. There were slain king Harold, and earl Leofwine his brother, and earl Gyrth his brother, and many good men ; and the French had possession of the place of carnage as to them God granted for the people's sins. Archbishop Ealdred then, and the townsmen of London would have Eadgar child for king, as was indeed his natural right ; and Eadwine and Morkere promised him that they would fight with him ; but as it ever should be the forwarder so was it ever, from day to day, slower and worse, as at the end it all went. This fight was fought on the day of Calixtus the pope (Oct. 14th). And count William went afterwards again to Hastings, and there awaited whether the nation would submit to him ; but when he perceived that they would not come to him he went up with all his army which was left to him, and what had afterwards come over sea to him, and harried all that part which he passed over, until he came to Berkhamstead. And there came to meet him archbishop Ealdred, and Eadgar child, and earl Eadwine, and earl Morkere, and all the best men of London, and then from necessity submitted when the greatest harm had been done ; and it was very imprudent that it was not done earlier, as God would not better it for our sins ; and they gave hostages, and swore oaths to him ; and he promised them that he would be a kind lord to

them ; and yet, during this, they harried all that they passed over.

Then on Midwinter's day, archbishop Ealdred hal-  
lowed him king at Westminster ; and he pledged him on  
Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the  
crown on his head, that he would govern this nation as  
well as any king before him had best done, if they would  
be faithful to him.



## CHAPTER II

### THE NORMAN KINGS

#### AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) *Old English Chronicle*; see Chapter I.
- (2) ORDERICUS VITALIS. Orderic was born in Shropshire in 1075, and became a monk of St Evroul in Normandy. His work was carried down to 1141, being professedly an ecclesiastical history of England and Normandy; valuable when the author is dealing with matters during his own lifetime.
- (3) RICHARD OF HEXHAM: prior of Hexham after 1141. The work cited is called the *Gesta Stephani* or *Acts of Stephen*.

### 1. THE DANES IN THE HUMBER

[*Old English Chronicle*]

After William the Conqueror seized the crown of England, the Danes, in conjunction with the Anglo-Danes of the Danelagh, tried to win the country for themselves—it had formed a part of the Danish dominion under Canute.

AN. M.LXIX. Soon after this came from Denmark three sons of king Svein, and Asbiorn jarl and Thorkell jarl, with two hundred and forty ships, into the Humber; and there came to meet them Eadgar child and earl Waltheof, and Maerleswegen, and earl Gospatric, with the Northumbrians and all the country people, on horse and on foot, with a countless army, greatly rejoicing; and so all unanimously went to York, and stormed and demolished the castle, and gained innumerable treasures

therein, and slew there many hundred Frenchmen, and led many with them to the ships; but before the shipmen came thither, the French had burnt the town, and also plundered and burnt the holy monastery of St Peter. When the king learned this he went northward with all his force that he could gather, and completely harried and laid waste the shore. And the fleet lay all the winter in the Humber, where the king could not come to them. And the king was on the day of Midwinter at York and so all the winter in the land; and came to Winchester at the same Easter.

AN. M.LXX. In this year the earl Waltheof made his peace with the king; and in the following Lent the king caused all the monasteries that were in England to be plundered. Then in the same year came Svein king of Denmark into the Humber; and the country people came to meet him, and made peace with him, weening that he would overrun the land. Then came to Ely Christian, the Danish bishop, and Asbiorn jarl, and the Danish huscarls with them; and the English folk from all the fen-lands came to them; weening that they would win all the land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say that their own men would plunder the monastery, that was Hereward and his company. This was because they had heard say that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot named Turolde, and that he was a very stern man, and was then come to Stamford with all his Frenchmen. There was then a churchward there named Yware, who took by night all that he could; that was, gospels, mass-mantles, cantor-copes, and robes, and such like things, whatever he could; and went forthwith, ere day, to the abbot Turolde, and told him that he sought his protection, and informed

him how the outlaws were come to Peterborough, and that he did all by the advice of the monks. Then soon on the morrow came all the outlaws with many ships, and would enter the monastery, and the monks withstood so that they could not come in. They then set it on fire and burned all the monks' houses; and all the town, save one house. They then came in through fire, in at Bolhithe gate, and the monks came to meet them, praying for peace. But they recked of nothing, went into the monastery, clomb up to the holy rood, then took the crown from our Lord's head, all of beaten gold, then took the foot-spur that was underneath his foot, which was all of red gold. They clomb up to the steeple, and brought down the crosier that was there hidden; it was of gold and silver. They took there two golden shrines, and nine of silver. They took there so much gold and silver, and so many treasures in money, and in raiment, and in books, as no man may tell to another, saying that they did it from affection to the monastery. They then betook themselves to the ships, proceeded to Ely, and there deposited all the treasures. The Danish men weened that they should overcome the Frenchmen; they then dispersed all the monks, none remaining there save one monk named Leofwine Lange; he lay sick in the sick men's ward. Then came abbot Tuold, and eight times twenty Frenchmen with him, and all fully armed. When he came thither, he found within and without all burnt, save only the church. The outlaws were then all afloat, knowing that he would come thither. This was done on the day fourth before the Nones of June (June 2nd). The two kings, William and Svein, became reconciled, when the Danish men went out from Ely with all the aforesaid treasure,

and conveyed it with them. When they came to the middle of the sea, a great storm came and scattered all the ships in which the treasures were; some went to Norway, some to Ireland, some to Denmark; and all that thither came were the crosier, and some shrines, and some roods, and many of the other treasures and they brought them to a king's town and placed them all in church. Then afterwards through their heedlessness, and through their drunkenness, on one night the church was burnt, and all that was therein. Thus was the monastery of Peterborough burned and plundered. May Almighty God have compassion on it through his great mercy. And thus the abbot Turolde came to Peterborough, and the monks then came again, and did Christ's service in the church, which had a full semnight before stood without any kind of rite. When bishop Aegelric heard that say, he excommunicated all the men who had done the evil. Then there was a great famine this year; and in the summer came the fleet from the north out of the Humber into the Thames, and lay there two nights, and afterwards proceeded to Denmark.

## 2. TROUBLE AT GLASTONBURY

[*Old English Chronicle*]

Norman abbots were placed at the head of English monasteries, where their discipline was not appreciated.

AN. M.LXXXIII. In this year arose the discord at Glastonbury, betwixt the abbot Thurstan and his monks. It came first from the abbot's lack of wisdom, so that he misruled his monks in many things, and the monks meant it kindly to him, and prayed him that he

would entreat them rightly, and love them, and they would be faithful to him, and obedient. But the abbot would naught of this, but did them evil, and threatened them worse. One day the abbot went into the chapter-house, and spake against the monks, and would misuse them, and sent after laymen, and they came into the chapter-house upon the monks full armed. And then



Ruins of Glastonbury Abbey

the monks were greatly afraid of them, and knew not what they were to do, but fled in all directions; some ran into the church, and locked the doors after them; and they went after them into the monastery and would drag them out, as they durst not go out. But a rueful thing happened there on that day. The Frenchmen broke into the choir, and hurled towards the altar where the monks were; and some of the young ones

went up on the upper floor, and kept shooting downward with arrows towards the sanctuary, so that in the rood that stood above the altar there stuck many arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under, and earnestly cried to God, imploring his mercy, seeing that they might not obtain any mercy from men. What can we say, but that they shot cruelly and others brake down the doors there, and went in, and slew some of the monks to death, and wounded many therein, so that the blood came from the altar upon the steps, and from the steps on the floor. Three were there slain to death, and eighteen wounded. And in the same year died Matilda, king William's queen, on the day after All-Hallows mass-day (Nov. 2nd). And in the same year, after Midwinter, the king caused a great and heavy tax to be exacted over all England; that was for every hide, two and seventy pence.

### 3. THE MOOT OF SALISBURY

[*Old English Chronicle*]

The "moot" or national assembly held at Salisbury in 1086 is famous because the occupants of land were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king, whether they actually held their land direct from the king or from an intermediate overlord. The oath bound them to follow the king even against the overlord.

AN. MLXXXVI. In this year the king bare his crown, and held his court in Winchester, at Easter; and so he went that he was by Pentecost at Westminster, and dubbed his son Henry a knight there. After that he went about, so that he came by Lamma to Salisbury, and there his witan came to him, and all the landholders that were of account over all England, be they the men

of what man they might; and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men. Thence he went to Wight, because he would go to Normandy and afterwards did so; and yet he first did after his wont, obtained a very great treasure from his subjects, where he could have any accusation, either with justice or otherwise. He then went afterwards to Normandy; and Eadgar aetheling, the kinsman of king Eadward, revolted from him because he had no great honour from him; but may the Almighty God give him honour in the life to come. And Christina, the aetheling's sister, retired to the monastery at Rumsey, and received the holy veil. And the same year was a very heavy, toilsome, and sorrowful year in England, through murrain of cattle, and corn and fruits were at a stand, and so great unpropitiousness in weather, as no one can easily think; so great was the thunder and lightning, that it killed many men; and ever it grew worse with men more and more. May God Almighty better it, when it shall be His will.

#### 4. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

[*Old English Chronicle*]

This section gives the character of the Conqueror as it impressed an English observer.

After the birth-tide of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand and seven and eighty winters, in the one and twentieth year after William ruled and held despotic sway over England, as God had granted him, there was a very heavy pestilent year in this land. Such a malady came on men that almost every other man was in the

worst evil, that is with fever, and that so strongly that many men died of the evil. Afterwards there came, through the great tempest which came as we have before told, a very great famine over all England, so that many hundred men perished by death through that famine. Alas! how miserable and how rueful a time was then! when the wretched men lay driven almost to death, and afterwards came the sharp famine and quite destroyed them. Who cannot feel pity for such a time? or who is so hard-hearted that cannot bewail such misfortune? But such things befall for a folk's sins, because they will not love God and righteousness: so as it was in those days, that little righteousness was in this land with any man, save with the monks alone, wherever they fared well.

The king and the head men loved much, and over much, covetousness in gold and silver, and recked not how sinfully it might be got, provided it came to them. The king gave his land as dearly for rent as he possibly could; then came some other and bid more than the other had before given, and the king let it to the man who had bidden him more; then came a third and bid yet more, and the king gave it up to the man who had bidden most of all. And he recked not how very sinfully the reeves got it from poor men, nor how many illegalities they did; but the more that was said about right law the more illegalities were done. They levied unjust tolls, and many other unjust things they did, which are difficult to reckon. Also, in the same year, before autumn, the holy monastery of St Paul, the episcopal see of London, was burnt, and many other monasteries, and the greatest and fairest part of the whole city. So also, at the same time, almost every



chief town in all England was burnt. Alas! how false and how unstable is this world's wealth! He who was before a powerful king, and lord of many a land, had then of all his land only a portion of seven feet; and he who was whilom decked with gold, and with gems, lay then covered over with mould. He left after him three sons; Robert was the eldest named, who was count of Normandy after him; the second called William, who bare after him the royal crown of England; the third son was called Henry, to whom his father bequeathed treasures innumerable. If any one desires to know what kind of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he was lord, then we will write of him as we understood him who have looked on him, and at another time sojourned in his court. The king William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful; more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God; and over all measure severe to the men who gainsaid his will. On the same stead, on which God granted him that he might subdue all England, he reared a noble monastery, and there placed monks, and well endowed it. In his days was the noble monastery at Canterbury built, and also very many others over all England. This land was also plentifully supplied with monks, and they lived their lives after the rule of St Benedict. And in his day Christianity was such that every man who would followed what belonged to his condition.

He was also of a great dignity; thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester; at Pentecost in Westminster; at Midwinter in Gloucester. And there were with him

all the great men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So also was he a very stark and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had acted against his will; bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison; and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo: he was a very rich bishop in Normandy, at Bayeux was his episcopal see; and he was the foremost man besides the king; and he had an earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he the most powerful in this land;



Coin of William I's Reign

and him he set in prison. Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man had he done ever so great evil to the other.

He reigned over England, and by his sagacity so thoroughly surveyed it, that there was not a hide of land within England that he knew not who had it, or what it was worth, and afterwards set it in his writ. Brytland (Wales) was in his power, and he therein wrought castles, and completely ruled over that race of men. In like manner he also subjected Scotland to

him by his great strength. The land of Normandy was naturally his, and over the county which is called Le Maine he reigned; and if he might yet have lived two years he would, by his valour, have won Ireland, and without any weapons. Certainly in his time men had great hardships and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very stark, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people for little need. He had fallen into covetousness, and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve for deer, and he laid down laws therewith; that whosoever should slay the hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He so ordained concerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat; but he was so obdurate, that he recked not of the hatred of them all; but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land or property, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should be so proud, to raise himself up, and account himself above all men. May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins! These things we have written concerning him, both good and evil, that good men may imitate their goodness, and wholly flee from the evil, and go in the way that leads us to the kingdom of heaven.

## 5. WILLIAM RUFUS AND MALCOLM CANMORE

[*Old English Chronicle*]

William Rufus had strife with Malcolm Canmore, king of Scots, from whom he exacted some sort of homage. He also had strife with Anselm, whom he had made Archbishop of Canterbury after keeping the see vacant and appropriating its revenues for several years.

While king William was out of England, king Malcolm of Scotland came hither into England, and harried a great deal of it, until the good men who had charge of this land sent a force against him, and turned him back. When king William in Normandy heard of this, he made ready for his departure, and came to England, and his brother the count Robert with him, and forthwith ordered a force to be called out, both a ship-force and a land-force: but the ship-force, ere he could come to Scotland, almost all perished miserably, a few days before St Michael's mass: and the king and his brother went with the land-force. But when king Malcolm heard that they would seek him with a force, he went with his force out of Scotland into the district of Leeds, in England, and there awaited. When king William with his force approached, then intervened count Robert and Eadgar aetheling, and so made a reconciliation between the kings: so that king Malcolm came to our king, and became his man, with all such obedience as he had before paid to his father, and that with oath confirmed. And king William promised him in land and in all things that which he had had before under his father. In this reconciliation Eadgar aetheling was also reconciled with the king; and the kings then, with great good feeling, separated; but that stood only a

little while. And count Robert continued here with the king almost to Christmas, and during that time found little of the truth of their compact; and two days before that tide, took ship in Wight, and went to Normandy, and Eadgar aetheling with him.

AN. M.XCII. In this year king William, with a large force, went north to Carlisle, and restored the town, and raised the castle; and drove out Dolphin, who previously had ruled the land there; and garrisoned the castle with his own men, and then returned south hither. And very many country folk with wives and with cattle, he sent thither, there to dwell and to till the land.

AN. M.XCIII. In this year, in Lent, the king William was taken so sick at Gloucester, that he was everywhere reported dead. And in his illness he promised many promises to God; to lead his own life righteously, and to grant peace and protection to God's churches, and never more again for money to sell them, and to have all just laws among his people.

And the archbishopric of Canterbury, that had before remained in his own hand, he delivered to Anselm, who had before been abbot of Bec, and to Robert his chancellor the bishopric of Lincoln; and to many monasteries he granted land; but this he afterwards withdrew, when he became well, and abandoned all the good laws that he had before promised us. Then after this, the king of Scotland sent, and demanded the fulfilment of the treaty that had been promised him. And king William summoned him to Gloucester, and sent him hostages to Scotland, and Eadgar aetheling afterwards, and the men back again, who brought with him great worship to the king. But when he came to the king, he could not be held worthy either the speech

of our king, or the conditions that had previously been promised him: and therefore in great hostility they parted, and king Malcolm returned home to Scotland. But as soon as he came home, he gathered his army, and marched into England, harrying with more animosity than ever behoved him. And then Robert the earl of Northumberland ensnared him with his men unawares, and slew him. Morel of Bamborough slew him, who was the earl's steward and king Malcolm's gossip.

With him was also slain his son Edward, who should, if he had lived, have been king after him. When the good queen Margaret heard this—her dearest lord and son thus deceived—she was in mind afflicted to death; and with her priests went to church, and received her rites, and obtained by prayer to God that she might give up her spirit. And the Scots then chose Donald, Malcolm's brother, for king, and drove out all the English, who were before with king Malcolm. When Duncan, king Malcolm's son, who was in king William's court—his father having before given him as a hostage to our king's father, and he had so remained afterwards—heard all that had thus taken place, he came to the king, and performed such fealty as the king would have of him, and so with his permission, went to Scotland, with the support that he could get of English and French, and deprived his kinsman Donald of the kingdom, and was received for king. But some of the Scots afterwards gathered together, and slew almost all his followers, and he himself with a few escaped. Afterwards they were reconciled, on the condition that he never again should harbour in the land either of English or French.

6. RUFUS, RALPH FLAMBARD, AND ANSELM

[ORDERICUS VITALIS]

This section describes some characteristic iniquities of  
William Rufus.

At this time a certain clerk named Ralph gained the confidence of William Rufus, and acquired pre-eminence over all the king's officers by his subtlety in prosecutions and his skill in flattery. This man was of an acute intellect and handsome person, a fluent speaker, fond of the pleasures of the table, and addicted to wine and lust; he was, at the same time, cruel and ambitious, prodigal to his own adherents, but most rapacious in his exactions from strangers. Sprung from poor and low parents, and rising to a level far beyond that to which his birth entitled him, his arrogance was swelled by the losses he inflicted on others. He was the son of one Thurstan, an obscure priest of the diocese of Bayeux, and, having been brought up from his earliest years among the vile parasites of the court, was better skilled in crafty intrigues and verbal subtleties than in sound learning. Inflated with ambition to raise himself above the eminent men who adorned the court of the great king William, he undertook many things without orders, and of which the prince was ignorant, making impertinent and vexatious accusations in the king's court, and arrogantly over-awing his superiors as if he was supported by the royal authority. In consequence Robert, the king's steward, gave him the surname of Flambard, which indeed, prophetically suited his genius and conduct; for like a devouring flame, he tormented the people and turned the daily chants of the church into lamentations, by the new

practices he introduced into the country. He disquieted the king by his perfidious suggestions, recommending him to revise the record which had been taken of all property throughout England; and, making a new division of the lands, to deprive his subjects, both native and alien, of all that exceeded a certain amount. Having obtained the king's consent, he had all the plough-lands, which are called in English hides, accurately measured and registered, and setting aside the larger admeasurement which the liberal-minded English had made use of by order of king Edward, and lessening the estates of the farmers, augmented the royal revenues. By this diminution of the former extent of their estates, and the heavy burdens of the new and increased taxation, he shamefully oppressed the king's faithful and humble subjects; impoverishing them by the loss of their property, and reducing them from affluence to great indigence.

By Ralph's advice, the young king, on the death of the prelates, took their churches with the domains attached to them from ancient times into his own hands, and set his courtiers over the convents of monks, and the deans and canons of the episcopal sees, allowing these a small pittance out of the revenues for their maintenance, and applying the rest to his own purposes. The king's covetousness thus impoverished the churches of God, and the iniquitous practice which commenced at that time has continued to the present day to the loss of many souls. For the avaricious king, with this object, deferred appointing pastors to the churches; so that the people having no guides and the flocks no shepherds, they became a prey to the attacks of the wolves and perished from wounds inflicted by the winged



arrows of their manifold sins. This inordinate covetousness gathered into the royal treasury the wealth which the ancient English kings had freely and piously devoted to God; such as were Ethelbert, Edwin, Offa, Ethelwulf, Alfred, Edgar, and other princes as well as their great nobles. They indeed, having been converted to the faith, devoutly worshipped God, and out of their abundance made large endowments on the monks and clergy, that those special servants of the Divine law might enjoy ample means of subsistence, and be able day and night, without hindrance, to perform cheerfully the offices of divine worship, and keep perpetually the appointed vigils in places consecrated to the service of God. Thither pilgrims and wayfarers resorted in security, and there found a short repose after their fatigues, and, according to the fundamental institutions of such places, a plentiful repast, after their privations. Returning thanks to God for such unexpected refreshment, they offered devout prayers to the Creator of all things for the benefactors, long since departed, who had secured them such enjoyment of such privileges.

Before the Norman conquest, it was the practice in England, on the death of the superiors of monasteries, for the bishop in whose diocese they were to take an accurate account of the possessions of the convents, and become their guardian until the new abbots were canonically ordained. In like manner, on the death of a bishop, the archbishop took charge of the property of the see, and, with the advice of the officers of the church, appropriated it either to the relief of the poor, the repair of the churches, or other pious uses. William Rufus, in the beginning of his reign, was induced by Flambard to abolish this custom, so that he suffered

the metropolitan see of Canterbury to remain vacant three years, and seized its revenues for his own use. It is evidently unjust and contrary to all reason that what has been devoted to God by the liberality of pious kings, or laudably acquired by the stewards of the property of the church, should fall into lay hands, and be iniquitously devoted to secular uses. Nor can we doubt that, as, on the one hand, those who have consecrated to God part of their wealth have received from Him the just reward of their good deeds; so, on the other, sacrilegious intruders into sacred things will be brought to punishment by the avenging hand of God, and stripped of the possessions they have usurped to their eternal disgrace. Such is the Almighty's sure and immutable law. Recompense is graciously promised to righteous doers, while transgressors are threatened with fearful vengeance for their crimes. Every page of the sacred writings sets forth this mercy and severity, so that they are as light to every well informed mind. It is, therefore, surprising that the human heart is so prone to evil, and covets present and fleeting advantages more than future and everlasting rewards, when it is known that all things are open to the view of the Almighty, and that nothing can escape the penetration of the divine scrutiny.

The metropolis of Canterbury having languished in fear and grief and a state of widowhood, deprived of its bishop, for three years, the righteous Judge, who beholds from heaven the children of men and perceives all the world running after the vanity of vanities, visited with a severe disease the king of England who was polluted by the guilt of so many crimes. Thus punished by sickness, he had recourse to the priests of the Lord,

and laying open to those physicians of the soul the wounds of his conscience by humble confession, promised amendment of life and commanded the rulers of the church to choose an archbishop according to the will of God. It happened that at that time Anselm, abbot of Bec, had crossed over to England on the affairs of his monastery. On hearing that the king had given orders for the election of a metropolitan, Holy Church was filled with joy, and an assembly of her leading rulers was held to treat of the business on which they were summoned. At length, taking into consideration the sanctity and wisdom of the venerable Anselm, he was unanimously elected in the name of the Lord, and, very unwillingly on his part, elevated to the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Having been solemnly enthroned, this able pastor was often in great tribulation when he carefully weighed the serious and difficult burdens imposed upon him. So far from being lifted up by his high promotion, he was filled with alarm lest many of those placed under his government, who were erring from the right way, should come to perdition. He found a variety of things in his diocese which required correction. It was often his duty to censure a sinful monarch and a stubborn nobility. This exposed him to their repeated attacks, and he was twice driven into exile for his zeal in the cause of justice. Both by word and good example, he strove to improve the perverse habits of his flock: but some of them were so hardened in iniquity that he could not succeed as he wished. For, as Solomon says, the perverse are difficult to correct, and the number of the foolish is infinite.

In those days the light of true holiness was dim among all orders of the state, and the princes of the

## 64 *The Death of Rufus and Accession of Henry I*

world with their subjects abandoned themselves to deeds of darkness. William Rufus, king of England, was a young man of loose and debauched morals, and his people but too readily followed his example. He was imperious, daring, warlike, and gloried in the pomp of his numerous troops. His great delight consisted in conferring the honours of knighthood on account of the worldly splendour with which it surrounded him. He took no care to defend the country folk against his men-at-arms, so that their property was at the entire mercy of his young knights and squires. The king's memory was very tenacious, and his zeal either for good or evil was ardent. Robbers and thieves felt the terrible weight of his power, and his efforts to keep the peace throughout his dominion were unceasing. He so managed his subjects, either by making them partake of his bounty, or curbing them by the terror of his arms, that no one dared whisper a word in opposition to his will.

## 7. THE DEATH OF RUFUS AND ACCESSION OF HENRY I

[ORDERICUS VITALIS]

In 1100, Rufus was killed while hunting in the New Forest; the crown was secured by his younger brother Henry, in the absence on crusade of the elder brother Robert Duke of Normandy.

A certain monk of good repute, and still better life, who was of the abbey of St Peter at Gloucester, related that he had a dream in the visions of the night to this effect: "I saw," he said, "the Lord Jesus seated on a lofty throne and the glorious host of heaven, with the company of saints, standing round. But while in my ecstasy I was lost in wonder, and my attention was

deeply fixed on a vision so wondrous, I beheld a virgin resplendent in light cast herself at the feet of the Lord Jesus, and humbly address to him this petition: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, for which thou didst shed thy precious blood when hanging on the cross, look with an eye of compassion on thy people which now groans under the yoke of William. Thou avenger of wickedness, and most just judge of all men, take vengeance, I beseech thee on my behalf of this William, and deliver me out of his hands; for, as far as lies in his power, he hath polluted and grievously afflicted me.' And the Lord answered: 'Be patient and wait awhile, and soon thou shalt be avenged of him fully.' I trembled on hearing this, and doubt not that the divine anger presently threatens the king; for I understood that the cries of the holy virgin, our mother the Church, had reached the ears of the Almighty, by reason of the robberies, the foul adulteries, and the heinous crimes of all sorts which the king and his courtiers cease not from daily committing against the divine law.'

Of which having heard, the venerable abbot Serlo wrote letters which he despatched with friendly intent from Gloucester, informing the king very distinctly of all that the monk had seen in his vision.

The morning of the day following, king William, having dined with his minions, prepared, after the meal was ended, to go forth and hunt in the New Forest. Being in great spirits, he was jesting with his attendants while his boots were being laced, when there came in an armourer and gave him six arrows. The king straightway took them, very well pleased, praising the work; and unconscious of what was to happen kept

four of them himself and held out the other two to Walter Tirel. "It is but right," he said, "that the sharpest arrows should be given to him who knows best how to inflict mortal wounds with them." This Tirel was a French knight of good extraction, the wealthy lord of the castles of Poix and Pontoise, holding a high place among the nobles, and a gallant soldier; he was therefore admitted to familiar intimacy with the king, and became his constant companion. Meanwhile, while they were idly talking on various subjects and the king's household attendants were assembled about him, a monk of Gloucester presented himself and delivered to the king the letter from his abbot. Having read which he burst out laughing, and said merrily to the knight just mentioned, "Walter, do what I told you." The knight replied, "I will my lord." Slighting then the warnings of the elders, and forgetting that the heart is lifted up before a fall, he said respecting the letter he had received, "I wonder what has brought my lord Serlo to write to me in this strain, for I really believe he is a worthy old man and respectable. In the simplicity of his heart, he transmits to me, who have enough besides to attend to, the dreams of his snoring monks, and even takes the trouble to commit them to writing, and send them thus far. Does he think that I follow the example of the English, who will defer their journey or their business on account of the dreams of a parcel of wheezing old women?"

Thus speaking, he hastily arose, and mounting his horse, rode at full speed to the forest. His brother, Count Henry, with William de Breteuil and other distinguished persons, followed him, and, having penetrated into the woods, the hunters dispersed themselves in

various directions according to custom. The king and Walter de Poix posted themselves with a few others in one part of the forest, and stood with their weapons in their hands eagerly watching for the coming of the game, when a stag suddenly running between them, the king quitted his station, and Walter shot an arrow. It grazed the beast's grizzly back, but glancing from it,



**The Rufus Stone, in the New Forest**

*(Marking the spot where the fatal arrow is supposed to have fallen)*

mortally wounded the king who stood within its range. He straightway fell to the ground, and alas! expired. The death of one man caused the greatest confusion among numbers, and the wood echoed with fearful shouts occasioned by the death of their prince.

Henry lost no time in riding as fast as his horse could carry him to Winchester, where the royal treasure was kept, and imperiously demanded the keys from the

keepers as the lawful heir. William de Breteuil arrived at the same instant with breathless haste, for he anticipated Henry's deep policy and resolved to oppose it. "We ought," he said, "to have a loyal regard for the fealty we have sworn to your brother Robert. He is undoubtedly the eldest son of King William, and both I and you, my lord Henry, have paid him homage. Therefore we ought to keep our engagements to him in all respects, whether he be absent or present. He has long laboured in God's service [as a crusader], and the Lord now restores him, without a contest, the duchy which he relinquished for the love of heaven, as well as his father's crown." There was now a sharp contention between them, and crowds flocked round them from all quarters, but the influence of an heir present in person to claim his rights began to prevail. Henry hastily seized his sword, and drew it out of the scabbard, declaring that no foreigner should on frivolous pretences lay hands on his father's sceptre.

At length, through the intervention of friends and prudent counsellors, the quarrel abated on the one side and the other, and by a wise resolution, to prevent a serious rupture, the castle with the royal treasures was given up to Henry, the king's son. This had been long before predicted by the Britons, and the English desired to have for their lord a prince they regarded as illustrious because he was nobly born on the throne<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* when his father was actually king. When Robert was born, William I was only Duke of Normandy.



## 8. CHARACTER OF WILLIAM RUFUS

[*Old English Chronicle*]

The character of William Rufus, painted by an English observer.

AN. M.C. In this year king William held his court at Christmas in Gloucester, and at Easter in Winchester, and at Pentecost in Westminster. And at Pentecost, at a town in Berkshire blood was seen to well from the earth, as many said who should have seen it. And thereafter, on the morning after Lammas day (Aug. 1st), king William was shot with an arrow in hunting, by one of his men, and afterwards brought to Winchester, and buried in the bishopric. That was in the thirteenth year after he had succeeded to the realm. He was very rigorous and stern over his land and his men, and towards all his neighbours, and very formidable; and through the counsels of evil men, that were always grateful to him, and through his own covetousness, he was ever tormenting this nation with an army, and with unjust exactions; because in his days every right fell, and every wrong in the sight of God and of the world rose up. God's churches he depressed, and all the bishoprics, and abbacies, whose heads died in his days, he either sold for money or held in his own hand, and let for rent; because he would be the heir of every man, ordained and lay; so that on the day he fell, he had in his own hand the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the bishopric of Winchester, and that of Salisbury, and eleven abbacies, all let to rent. And, though I may longer delay it, all that was hateful to God and oppressive to men, all such was customary in this land in his time; and therefore he was hateful to almost all

his people and odious to God, as his end made manifest; for he departed in the midst of his unrighteousness, without repentance and any atonement.

## 9. CHARACTER OF HENRY I

[ORDERICUS VITALIS]

The character of Henry I, depicted by a monk of Normandy.

King Henry having, by God's help, humbled his enemies, he razed to the ground all the unlicensed castles which Robert [de Belesme] and other factious nobles had erected. He sent his brothers to England to prevent the malcontents from disturbing the peace of the well-disposed, under colour of taking the duke's part, who was therefore kept a close prisoner for twenty-seven years, but amply supplied with luxuries of every kind. Meanwhile, Henry governed the duchy of Normandy as well as his kingdom of England with a firm hand, being to the end of his days careful to maintain peace; and though he enjoyed his prosperity according to his own pleasure, he never faltered in his stern career and the severity with which he administered justice. His able policy enabled him to keep the greatest nobles and lords of castles, and the most turbulent barons, in due subjection, while he was at all times ready to encourage and protect his peaceable subjects, the men of the church and the commons of the land. His power being established, on both sides of the channel, in the eighth year of his reign, it was his constant endeavour to procure peace for the population under his rule, and he rigorously punished offenders against whom he enacted severe laws. Surrounded by

all the indulgence which his vast wealth could procure, he was criminally addicted to one vice, from the days of his youth until he was advanced in years, having several sons and daughters by concubines. By his unwearied industry he profusely augmented his worldly wealth, amassing vast stores of all valuable objects which he coveted. Reserving for his own sport beasts of chase in the forests of England, he even caused all dogs kept on the verge of the woods to be mutilated by having one of their claws chopped off, and reluctantly licensed some few of the greater nobles and his particular friends to have the privilege of hunting in their own forests. A close observer, he investigated all subjects with great acuteness, and his memory was very tenacious of all the information he received. His enquiries extended to all the proceedings of his ministers and great officers, and he regulated the multiplied affairs of England and Normandy according to the dictates of his own sagacious judgment. He penetrated every one's secrets, and the most private transactions, so that the actors were at a loss to understand how the king obtained his knowledge. After a careful examination of ancient history, I boldly assert that, in regard to worldly prosperity, no king of England was mightier or richer than Henry.

## 10. THE TRAGEDY OF THE WHITE SHIP

[ORDERICUS VITALIS]

Henry I had a son William who was his heir. William's death is here narrated. After it, the king endeavoured to secure the succession for his daughter, known as the Empress Maud.

In this voyage a sad disaster happened which caused much lamentation and innumerable tears to flow. Thomas, the son of Stephen, had obtained an audience of the king, and offering him a gold mark, said to him, "Stephen the son of Airard was my father, and during his whole life he was in your father's service as a mariner. He it was who conveyed your father to England in his own ship, when he crossed the sea to make war on Harold. He was employed by your father in services of this description as long as he lived, and gave him such satisfaction that he honoured him with liberal rewards, so that he lived in great credit and prosperity among those of his own class. My lord king, I ask you to employ me in the same service, having a vessel, called the *Blanche-Nef*, which is fitted out in the best manner, and perfectly adapted to receive a royal retinue." The king replied: "I grant your request; but I have already selected a ship which suits me, and I shall not change; however, I entrust to you my sons, William and Richard, whom I love as myself, with many of the nobility of my realm."

The mariners were in great glee at hearing this, and greeting the king's son with fair words asked him to give them something to drink. The prince gave orders that they should have three muids. No sooner was the wine delivered to them than they had a great drinking bout, and pledging their comrades in full cups, indulged

too much and became intoxicated. By the king's command many barons with their sons embarked in the *Blanche-Nef*, and there were in all, as far as I can learn, three hundred souls on board the ill-fated ship. But two monks of Tyron, Count Stephen, with two men-at-arms, William de Roumare, Rabel the chamberlain, Edward of Salisbury, and several others, came on shore, having left the vessel upon observing that it was overcrowded with riotous and headstrong youths. The crew consisted of fifty experienced rowers, besides an armed marine force, who were very disorderly ; and as soon as they got on board insolently took possession of the benches of the rowers, and being drunk forgot their station, and scarcely paid respect to any one. Alas ! How many, among the company embarked, were without the slightest feeling of devotion towards God,

who calms the raging sea and rules the winds.

They even drove away with contempt, amidst shouts of laughter, the priests who came to bless them, with the other ministers who carried holy water ; but they were speedily punished for their mockery. Besides the king's treasure and some casks of wine, there was no cargo in Thomas's ship, which was full of passengers ; and they urged him to use his utmost endeavours to overtake the royal fleet which was already ploughing the waves. In his drunken folly, Thomas, confident of his seamanship and the skill of his crew, rashly boasted that he would soon leave behind him all the ships that had started before them. At last, he gave the signal for departure ; the sailors seized the oars without a moment's delay, and, unconscious of the fate which was imminently impending, joyously handled the ropes and

sails, and made the ship rush through the water at a great rate. But as the drunken rowers exerted themselves to the utmost in pulling the oars, and the luckless pilot steered at random and got the ship out of its due course, the starboard bow of the *Blauche-Nef* struck violently on a huge rock, which is left dry, every day, when the tide is out, and is covered by the waves at high water. Two planks having been shattered out by the crash, the ship, alas! filled and went down. At this fearful moment, the passengers and crew raised cries of distress, but their mouths were soon stopped by the swelling waves, and all perished together, except two who seized hold of the yard from which the sail was set. They hung on to it the greater part of the night, in earnest hope that they would receive aid in some shape or other. One of these men was a butcher of Rouen, of the name of Berold: the other, a young man of gentle birth whose name was Geoffrey, the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle.

The moon was at this time in her nineteenth day in the constellation of the Bull, and gave light to the world for nine hours, so that all objects on the surface of the sea were clearly visible to the sailors. Thomas, the master of this vessel, after his first plunge into the sea, gained fresh energy, and, recovering his senses, raised his head above water, and perceiving the two men clinging to the yard-arm, cried out: "What has become of the king's son?" The shipwrecked men replied that he and all who were with him had perished. "Then," said he, "it is misery for me to live any longer." Having said this, he abandoned himself to his fate in utter despair, preferring to meet it at once, rather than to face the rage of the king in his indignation for the

loss of his children, or drag out his existence and expiate his crime in a dungeon. Meanwhile, Berold and Geoffrey, hanging by the yard-arm over the waters, called upon God to save them, and encouraging one another, waited in fearful anxiety for the end which it should please Him to bring to their misery.

The night was bitterly cold and frosty, so that the young Geoffrey, after cruel sufferings from the severity of the weather, lost his powers of endurance, and commending his companion to God, fell into the sea and disappeared. Berold, however, who was the poorest man of all the company, and wore a sheep-skin dress, was the only one among so many who survived till the dawn of another day. In the morning, three fishermen took him to their skiff, and thus he alone reached the land. Having a little revived, he related all the particulars of the disaster to the crowd of anxious enquirers; and lived afterwards for twenty years in good health.

Roger, bishop of Coutances, had conducted on board the devoted ship his son William who had been just appointed by the king one of his four principal chaplains, with his brother and three gallant nephews, and had given them his episcopal benediction, though they made light of it. The bishop and many others who still lingered with him on the sea-shore, as well as the king and those who accompanied him, though they were a long way out to sea, heard the fearful cries of distress raised by the shipwrecked crew and passengers, but they did not learn what caused the shrieks until the next day; and marvelling what it could be, conversed about it, some saying one thing, and some another.

The melancholy news soon went abroad among the common people, and, spreading along the sea-coast,

came to the ears of count Theobald and other lords of the court ; but for that day no one ventured to make it known to the king, who was in a state of great anxiety and made many enquiries. The nobles shed many tears in private, and were inconsolable for the loss of their friends and relatives : but, in the king's presence, severe as was the struggle, they concealed their grief, lest its cause should be discovered. On the day following, by a well-devised plan of count Theobald's, a boy threw himself at the king's feet, weeping bitterly : and upon his being questioned as to the cause of his sorrow, the king learnt from him the shipwreck of the *Blauche-Nef*. So sudden was the shock, and so sharp his anguish, that he instantly fell to the ground : but being raised up by his friends, he was conducted to his chamber, and gave free course to the bitterness of his grief. Not Jacob was more woe-stricken for the loss of Joseph, nor did David give vent to more woeful lamentations for the murder of Amnon or Absalom.

## II. APPOINTMENT OF AN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

[*Old English Chronicle*]

The clergy were divided into those who belonged to the *regula* or rule of some monastic order, and those who did not ; the former lived in monasteries and the latter were the parish priests ; but bishoprics were often bestowed on the "regulars," of whom the "seculars" were very jealous.

AN. M.C.XXIII. In this year at Christmastide, king Henry was at Dunstable ; and there came envoys from the count of Anjou to him ; and thence he went to Woodstock, and his bishops and all his court with him.



Then it befell on a Wednesday, which was on the 4th before the Ides of January (Jan. 10th), that the king was riding in his deerfold, and the bishop Roger of Salisbury on one side of him, and the bishop Robert Bloct of Lincoln on the other side of him; and they were riding there and talking. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the king, "Lord king, I am dying." And the king alighted down from his horse, and lifted him betwixt his arms, and caused him to be borne to his inn, and he was then forthwith dead; and he was conveyed to Lincoln with great worship, and buried before St Mary's altar. And the bishop of Chester, named Robert Pecceth, buried him. Then immediately after this the king sent his writ over all England and bade his bishops, and his abbots, and all his thanes, that they should come to his council on Candlemas day [Feb. 2nd], at Gloucester, to meet him; and they did so. When they were there gathered, the king bade them that they should choose them an archbishop of Canterbury, whomsoever they would, and he would consent to it. Then spake the bishops among themselves and said, that they never more would have a man of monkish order for archbishop over them. And they all went together to the king, and desired that they might choose a clerk of the secular clergy, whomsoever they would, for archbishop. And the king conceded it to them. All this was done previously through the bishop of Salisbury, and through the bishop of Lincoln, before he was dead; because they never loved the rule of monks, but were ever against monks and their rule. And the prior and the monks of Canterbury, and all the other men of monkish order who were there, withstood it two full days; but it availed

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naught ; for the bishop of Salisbury was strong and ruled all England, and was against it all that he might and could. Then they chose a clerk, who was named Chiche [St Osyth]. And they brought him before the king, and the king gave him the archbishopric, and all the bishops received him : almost all the monks and earls and thanes who were there opposing him. At the same time came a legate from Rome, named Henry ; he was abbot of the monastery of St Jean d'Angely and he came after the Rome-scot. And he said to the king that it was against right that a clerk should be set over the monks : and therefore they had earlier chosen an archbishop in their chapter according to right. But the king would not undo it, for love of the bishop of Salisbury. Then went the archbishop soon after to Canterbury, and was there received, though it was against their will, and was there immediately blessed as bishop by the bishop of London, and the bishop Ernulf of Rochester, and the bishop William Giffard of Winchester, and the bishop Bernard of Wales and the bishop Roger of Salisbury. Then soon in Lent the archbishop went to Rome after his pall, and with him went the bishop Bernard of Wales, and Sigfrid abbot of Glastonbury, and Anselm abbot of St Edmund's, and John archdeacon of Canterbury, and Giffard, who was the king's domestic chaplain. At the same time went the archbishop Thurstan of York to Rome by the Pope's command ; and came thither three days before the archbishop of Canterbury came, and was there received with great worship. Then came the archbishop of Canterbury, and was there full seven nights ere he could come to speech with the Pope. That was because the Pope had been made to understand that he had

received the archbishopric in opposition to the monks of the monastery, and against right. But that overcame Rome which overcomes all the world, that is, gold and silver. And the Pope was pacified, and gave him his pall; and the archbishop swore subjection to him in all things which the Pope enjoined him, on the altar of St Peter and St Paul, and he sent him home with his blessing.

## 12. DEATH OF HENRY I AND REIGN OF STEPHEN

[*Old English Chronicle*]

Although Henry I had made the baronage swear fealty to the Empress Maud, his daughter, on his death his nephew Stephen of Boulogne was chosen king.

AN. M.C.XXXV. In this year king Henry went over sea at Lammas (Aug. 1st); and the second day, as he lay and slept in the ship, the day darkened over all lands, and the sun became as it were a three-night-old moon, and the stars about it at midday. Men were greatly wonder-stricken, and affrighted, and said that a great thing should come hereafter. And so it befell; for that same year the king died, on the day following after St Andrew's mass day (Dec. 2nd), in Normandy. Then there was tribulation soon in the land; for every man that could forthwith robbed another. Then his son and his friends took his body and brought it to England, and buried it at Reading. A good man he was, and there was great awe of him. No man durst say to him aught but good. In the meanwhile his nephew Stephen of Blois was come to England, and came to London, and

the London folk received him, and sent after the archbishop William Corbeil, and hallowed him king on Mid-winter day. In this king's time all was strife, and evil, and rapine; for against him soon rose the powerful men who were traitors. The first of all Baldwin de Redvers, who held Exeter against him; and the king besieged it, and then Baldwin capitulated. Then the others took and held their castles against him; and David, king of Scotland, took to vex him. Then, notwithstanding that, their messengers passed between them, and they came together and were reconciled; though it was to little purpose.

AN. M.C.XXXVII. In this year king Stephen went over sea to Normandy, and was there received because they imagined that he would be such as his uncle was, and because he had got his treasures; but he distributed it and scattered it foolishly. Much had king Henry gathered of gold and silver, and no good was done for his soul thereof. When king Stephen came to England [*an.* 1139], he held an assembly at Oxford, and there he took the bishop Roger of Salisbury, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and the chancellor Roger, his nephew, and put them all into prison, till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man, and soft, and good, and did no justice, then did they all wonder. They had done homage to him, and sworn oaths, but had held no faith; they were all forsworn, and forfeited their troth; for every powerful man made his castles, and held them against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then took they those men that they imagined



### Oxford Castle

*(Held during the civil war of Stephen's reign by the Empress Maud  
and besieged for eight weeks)*

had any property, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with unutterable torture; for never were martyrs so tortured as they were. They hanged them up by the feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; they hanged them by the thumbs, or by the head, and hung fires on their feet: they put knotted strings about their heads, and writhed them so that it went to the brain. They put them in dungeons, in which were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so. Some they put in a *crucet hūs*, that is, in a chest that was short and narrow, and shallow, and put sharp stones therein, and pressed the man therein, so that they break all his limbs. In many of the castles were [instruments called] a "*loathly and grim*": these were neck-bonds, of which two or three men had enough to bear one. It was so made, that is, it was fastened to a beam; and they put sharp iron about the man's throat and his neck, so that he could not in any direction sit, or lie, or sleep, but must bear all that iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger; I neither can nor may tell all the wounds or all the tortures which they inflicted on wretched men in this land; and that lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid imposts on the towns continually, and called it *ceuserie*: when the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the towns, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a town, or the land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter; for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one while were rich men; some fled out of the

land. Never yet had more wretchedness been in the land, nor did heathen men ever do worse than they did; for everywhere at times they forbore neither church nor churchyard, but took all the property that was therein, and then burned the church altogether. Nor forbore they a bishop's land, nor an abbot's, nor a priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man another who anywhere could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, imagining them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy constantly cursed them, but nothing came of it; for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and lost. However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn; for the land was all fordone by such deeds: and they said openly that Christ and his saints slept. Such and more than we can say, we endured nineteen winters for our sins.

### 13. THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD

[RICHARD OF HEXHAM: *Acts of Stephen*]

David I, king of Scotland, who was the Empress Maud's uncle, invaded the north of England, partly to make good certain claims of his own, partly on behalf of his niece who was battling with Stephen for the crown of England.

When they had there made private confession, the archbishop enjoined on them and the whole populace a three days' fast with almsgiving, after which he solemnly absolved them, and gave them God's blessing and his own. And although he was himself so greatly reduced by age and infirmity, that he had to be carried on a litter where need was, yet, in order to animate their courage, he would readily have accompanied them

to the field of battle. But they compelled him to stay behind, begging that he would employ himself in interceding for them by prayers and alms, by vigils and fasts, and other sacred observances ; while they (as God would deign to aid them, and as their position demanded) would cheerfully go forth against his enemy, in defence of God's church, and of him who was his minister. So he consigned to them his cross, and the standard of St Peter, and his retainers ; and they proceeded to the town called Thirsk, from whence they despatched Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol to the king of Scotland, who was then, as has been said, devastating the territory of St Cuthbert. They very humbly and courteously besought him that he would at least desist from his acts of ferocity : and faithfully promised him that if he would accede to their request, they would obtain from the king of England the earldom of Northumberland, which he claimed for his son Henry. But he, together with his followers, with a hardened heart spurned their solicitations, and disdainfully taunted them. They therefore returned to their associates, Robert abjuring the homage he had rendered him, and Bernard the fealty which he had sworn to him on one occasion when he had been taken prisoner by him. All the nobles, therefore, of that province, and William Peverel and Geoffrey Halsalin from Nottinghamshire, and Robert de Ferrers from Derbyshire, and other eminent and sagacious men, made a compact among themselves, which they confirmed by oaths, that not one of them, in this difficulty, would desert another while he had the power to aid him ; and thus all would either perish or conquer together. At the same time the archbishop sent to them Ralph, surnamed Novellus,



bishop of Orkney, with one of his archdeacons and other clergy, who, as his delegate, should impose penance and give absolution to the people who daily flocked to them from every quarter. He also sent to them, as he had promised, the priests with their parishioners.

While thus waiting the approach of the Scots, the scouts whom they had sent forward to reconnoitre returned, bringing the information that the king with his army had already passed the river Tees, and was ravaging their province in his wonted manner. They therefore hastened to resist them; and passing the village of Alverton [North Allerton], they arrived early in the morning at a plain distant from it about two miles. Some of them soon erected in the centre a frame which they brought, the mast of a ship, to which they gave the name of the Standard. On the top of this pole they hung a silver pyx containing the Host, and the banner of St Peter the Apostle and John of Beverley and Wilfrid of Ripon, confessors and bishops. In doing this, their hope was that our Lord Jesus Christ, by the efficacy of his Body, might be their leader in the contest in which they were engaging in defence of His Church and their country. By this means they also provided for their men, that, in the event of their being cut off and separated from them, they might observe some certain and conspicuous rallying-point, by which they might rejoin their comrades, and where they would receive succour.

Scarcely, then, had they put themselves in battle array, when tidings were brought that the king of Scotland was close at hand with his whole force, ready and eager for the contest. The greater part of the

knights, then dismounting, became foot soldiers, a chosen body of whom, interspersed with archers, were arranged in the front rank. The others, with the exception of those who were to dispose and rally the forces, mustered with the barons in the centre, near and round the standard, and were enclosed by the rest of the host who closed in on all sides. The troop of cavalry and the horses of the knights were stationed at a little distance, lest they should take fright at the shouting and uproar of the Scots. In the like manner, on the enemy's side, the king and almost all his followers were on foot, their horses being kept at a distance. In front of the battle were the Picts; in the centre, the king with his knights and English; the rest of the barbarian host poured roaring around them.

As they advanced in this order to battle, the standard with its banners became visible at no great distance; and at once the hearts of the king and his followers were overpowered by extreme terror and consternation; yet, persisting in their wickedness, they pressed on to accomplish their bad ends. On the octave of the Assumption of St Mary, being Monday, the eleventh before the kalends of September (Aug. 22nd) between the first and third hours, the struggle of this battle was begun and finished. For numberless Picts being slain immediately on the first attack, the rest, throwing down their arms, disgracefully fled. The plain was strewn with corpses: very many were taken prisoners; the king and all the others took to flight; and at length, of that immense army all were either slain, captured, or scattered as sheep without a shepherd. They fled like persons bereft of reason, in a marvellous manner, into the adjoining district of their adversaries, increasing

their distance from their own country, instead of retreating towards it. But wherever they were discovered, they were put to death like sheep for the slaughter; and thus, by the righteous judgment of God, those who had cruelly massacred multitudes, and left them unburied, and giving them neither their country's nor a foreign rite of burial, left them a prey to the dogs, the birds, and the wild beasts—were either dismembered and torn to pieces, or decayed and putrefied in the open air. The king also, who, in the haughtiness of his mind and the power of his army, seemed a little before to reach with his head even to the stars of heaven, and threatened ruin to the whole and greatest part of England, now dishonoured and meanly attended, barely escaped with his life, in the utmost ignominy and dismay. The power of Divine vengeance was also most plainly exhibited in this, that the army of the vanquished was incalculably greater than that of the conquerors. No estimate could be formed of the number slain; for, as many affirm, of that army which came out of Scotland alone, it was computed by the survivors that more than ten thousand were missing; and in various localities of the Deirans, Bernicians, Northumbrians, and Cumbrians, many more perished after the fight than fell in the battle.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PLANTAGENETS, TO THE END OF HENRY III

(1) BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH, abbot in the reign of Henry II, is the reputed author of the *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*, a very valuable contemporary chronicle. That he did not actually write it is practically certain; Stubbs was inclined to attribute the authorship to Richard FitzNeal (*v. infra*).

(2) GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, archdeacon of Brecon in the reign of Henry II, wrote the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, describing the Irish people in his day, and the conquest under Henry II.

(3) RICHARD FITZNEAL, treasurer of England 1158-1198 and bishop of London, wrote the *Dialogus de Scaccario* or Dialogue concerning the Exchequer, which incidentally contains much information as to other contemporary institutions, laws, and customs.

(4) RICHARD, canon and prior of Holy Trinity, London, between 1199 and 1220, wrote the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Ricardi*, in the main a translation of a French poem by Ambrose of Evreux, relating the deeds of Richard I in Palestine.

(5) ROGER OF WENDOVER, of the abbey of St Albans, wrote a history from 1188 to 1235 in continuation of a previous compilation.

(6) MATHEW PARIS carried on Wendover's work to 1259. He is the most famous of English medieval historians, and wrote with very full knowledge. The author of the supplementary portion (after 1259) is not known.

## 1. THE DEATH OF BECKET

[BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH: *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi*]

After his prolonged quarrel with Henry II, Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, was formally reconciled to the king, and returned to England, Henry being then abroad. Becket at once opened an attack on the bishops and others who had taken part in the coronation of Henry, the heir apparent. The king's anger led to the murder of Becket.

Now, when our Lord the Pope had heard of the presumption of the aforesaid archbishop of York and of the bishops who had supported him as we have told, on the complaint of the Blessed Thomas; then he suspended from all their episcopal offices Roger the archbishop of York and Hugo bishop of Durham and Walter bishop of Rochester; and Gilbert of London and Jocelyn of Salisbury he excommunicated. Which stern sentence, being published upon the entry of the Holy Thomas, enraged the king the more, and made the poisoned tongues of detractors the more effective to do him evil. For Roger the archbishop of York and Jocelyn bishop of Salisbury and Gilbert bishop of London, straightway after sentence was pronounced against them made haste to Normandy; and sharpening their tongues as they had been swords stirred up the king himself by their clamour against the archbishop of Canterbury, and more and more roused him to wrath against him.

In the eleven hundred and seventy-first year after our Lord's Incarnation, Henry king of England, son of the Empress Matilda, held his court in Normandy at Bur, upon the day of our Lord's Nativity; being in great dolour and perturbation by reason that the archbishop of Canterbury would not absolve the bishops of England,

whom he had bound with fetters of excommunication. And when the said king had thus been moved to wrath, four knights of his company and his household, willing to avenge him on account of the passion they had seen in him, secretly and without the king's own knowledge made haste down to the sea, to make passage to England. And when they had made passage they hastened their course with all speed towards Canterbury. And scarce had the father abode for one month in his church, when behold on the fifth day after Christmas there came to Canterbury the aforesaid four knights, ministers proclaimed of Sathanas, whose names are these: William de Tracey, Hugo de Morville, Richard Brito, Reginald Fitzurse; and coming in their fury all armed, they found the aforesaid archbishop within the temple. And at the entering in of the temple they cried with loud shouts: "Where, where is the traitor?" nor was there one who would make answer to them. And again they cried asking "Where is the archbishop of Canterbury?" To whom himself made answer, "I am the servant of Christ whom ye seek." To whom one of those fell knights, breathing wrath, spake railing: "Thou shalt die forthwith, seeing it may not be that thou shalt live longer." But the archbishop answered, as stout of speech as of soul, "I am ready to die for my God, and for asserting justice, and for the liberty of the church. Yet if ye seek my life, I do forbid you in the name of Almighty God and under God's curse to do harm to any other, whether monk or clerk or layman, great or small, but let him be held harmless, as they are innocent of this cause." Seem not his words to express the Christ, who in his Passion said, "If ye seek me suffer these to depart"? Having thus spoken, beholding the men of



The Murder of Becket

blood with drawn swords, he bowed his head as one that prays, uttering these last words, "To God and to Blessed Mary, and to the saints that watch over this church, and to the Blessed Dionysius, I commend myself and the cause of the Church." Then, a martyr of unyielding spirit and of an admirable constancy in all his sufferings, he did not strive nor cry nor utter a groan, nor raise arm nor robe to oppose the stroke, but until the deed was done kept motionless his bowed head, bared to their swords.

Wherefore the aforesaid knights, fearing the multitude of both sexes that were gathering together from all sides, lest perchance he should be snatched from them before their vow was accomplished, made haste with that crime. And when one of them stretched out his sword and smote at the head of the archbishop, he went near to cut off the arm of a certain clerk whose name was Edward Grim, and withal wounded in the head the anointed of the Lord. For the same clerk had thrust out his arm over the father's head that he might receive the blow of the smiter or might rather ward it off. Yet was he standing, the just for the cause of justice, as a lamb patient, innocent, not murmuring, not complaining, and offered himself a sacrifice to the Lord. And that none of those ministers of doom might be held guiltless, as not having smitten the archbishop, the second and third smote their swords fiercely on the head of the constant martyr and clove it, and hurled to the ground the Sacrifice of the Holy Spirit. But the fourth in a frenzy of cruelty more than fiendish, when he was already fallen and breathing his last, smote off the shaven scalp, and brake the skull, and thrusting in his sword scattered blood and brains upon the stone



floor. Thus in the beginning of the seventh year of his exile the aforesaid martyr Thomas, for God's law and for the Church's justice, which had almost altogether perished in the English Church, strove even to death, and feared not the words of the wicked; but making his foundation that rock which is Christ, for Christ's name and in Christ's church, by sacrilegious swords, on the fifth day after Christmas, that is on the morrow of the day of the Innocents, himself innocent lay slain. Then all other left him and fled, that it might be fulfilled which is written, "When the Shepherd is smitten, the flock will be scattered." But the knights who had wrought that sacrilegious deed took their departure by the martyr's stable, and seized his horses which they divided among themselves as they would. Yet thereon being conscious of their sacrilege, and despairing of pardon, they durst not return to the king's court whence they had come, but betook themselves to the western parts of England to Knaresborough, a manor of Hugh de Morville, and there abode, an abomination to their fellows of that province. For all men shunned speech with them, nor would any man eat with them or drink with them. By themselves they ate and by themselves they drank, and the fragments of their food were cast out to the dogs. And when they had tasted thereof they would eat no more of it. Behold how manifest and worthy a judgment of God, that they who had scorned the Lord's Anointed were scorned by the very dogs.

In the meantime the king, who held his court as we have said at Bur, came to Argenton. Where when he had heard that the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury was so cruelly slain in the church of Canterbury, he

grieved exceedingly and more than can be told, for he lived in unspeakable misery: yea, for three days he would eat naught nor speak with any, but for five weeks passed his life in solitude with closed doors until the archbishop and bishops of Normandy came to him bringing consolation.

## 2. ANARCHY IN LONDON

[BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH]

This section illustrates the extent to which lawlessness prevailed, even under so strong a king as Henry II.

At that same time the brother of earl Ferrers was slain privily by night in London. Now when these things were told to the king he was greatly grieved, and swore that he would exact a heavy penalty therefor from the citizens of London. But it was a common thing in London that some hundred or more of the sons and kinsfolk of leading citizens, as it was reported, attacked by night the dwellings of rich men and robbed them. And if they found any man passing by night through the streets, forthwith they would slay him without pity; so that few dared go abroad by night through the city for the fear of them. And so it befell that, in the third year preceding, the sons and the kinsfolk of certain leading citizens of London having gathered together by night for the getting of gain, attacked a house built of stone belonging to a certain wealthy Londoner and broke into it by means of a certain iron wedge which they had, and so entered in by the breach which they had made. But the master of the house being forewarned of their coming put on a shirt of mail and had with him sundry notable men and honest servants, clad in mail, and was sitting

with them in a corner of the house. Who when he saw that one of those robbers named Richard Bucquinte, who went before the others with a burning torch, held out a pot full of burning coal, and was making haste to kindle candles which he held in his hand, he ran upon him, assaulting him fiercely. Which when the aforesaid Richard Bucquinte saw, he drew his knife and smote the master of the house, yet did not wound him because the mail shirt received the blow. Then he, swiftly drawing his sword, attacked him and smote off the right hand of the aforesaid Richard Bucquinte, shouting with a loud voice "Thieves, thieves." And when they heard that, they all fled, save he who had lost his hand, of whom the master of house kept hold. When the morning was come, he handed him over to Richard de Lucy, to the king's justice; and he set him in prison. As for that thief, upon promise of sparing his life and limbs he made his comrades known; of whom the most were taken, but many escaped. But among the rest who had been taken was one of the most notable and wealthy citizens of London called John the Old. Who when he could not acquit himself through the ordeal by water, offered five hundred marks of silver to our lord the king for his life. But since he had failed in the ordeal by water, the king would not take the coin, and ordered justice to be done upon him; and he was hanged.

## 3. OF SCUTAGE: OF MURDER

[RICHARD FITZNEAL: *Dialogus de Scaccario*]

A high official explains some points of law to an enquiring pupil.

*Master.* It happens sometimes that, when the designs of an enemy threaten the kingdom, or break out against it, the king gives order that a certain sum of money be paid for every knight's fee, a mark or a pound: whence come wages or payments for knights. For the prince prefers to expose mercenaries rather than his own people to the chances of war. This sum therefore is called scutage because it is paid in the name of *scuta*, that is, shields.

Next; "Murder" is the proper name for the secret death of anyone whose slayer is unknown. For the meaning of "murder" is, a thing hidden or secret. Now in the first state of the kingdom after the conquest, those that were left of the vanquished English laid ambushes privily against the people of the Normans whom they dreaded and hated, and everywhere secretly slew them in woods and in places apart as opportunity offered. And when to avenge them the kings and their officers for many years raged against the English with all manner of ingenious torments, nor did they yet altogether desist, this plan was at length arrived at; that that centuriate or "hundred" wherein a Norman was found slain, since he who had slain him did not appear nor make his identity known by flight, should be condemned to pay a heavy fine, it might be thirty-six or forty-four pounds of silver; according to the difference of localities and the frequency of slayings. And it is said that this had the effect that the infliction of

a common punishment gave security to those that went to and fro, and everyone made haste whether to punish the crime or to bring to justice the man by whose means so heavy a fine injured a whole neighbourhood.

*Disciple.* May the privy slaying of an Englishman, as of a Norman, be imputed as murder?

*Master.* Not at the outset as you have heard; but now that English and Normans dwell together and marry and are given in marriage one to another, the peoples are so mixed that, speaking of those who are free men, we can hardly distinguish to-day who is of Norman and who of English race; always excepting the serfs called villeins, who may not change their condition against their lord's will. Therefore to-day, whosoever is thus found slain, it is punished as murder save where there are clear marks of the servile condition, as we have stated.

*Disciple.* I marvel that a prince of singular excellency and of exceeding valour should have shewn such mercy to the conquered and by him distrusted race of the English, that he not only spared the rustics by whom agriculture might be carried on, but left their estates and ample possessions to his predecessors in the realm.

*Master.* Though this is not altogether pertinent to the business I have undertaken, yet I will gladly explain what I have learnt from the people of the land themselves. After the Conquest and the just overthrow of the rebels, when the king and his nobles went over the new territory, diligent enquiry was made, who there were that fought against the king in the war and saved their lives by flight. All these as well as the heirs of those who had fallen in the war were cut off from all hope of the lands and estates and revenues which they had before

enjoyed. For they accounted it a great thing that they should be spared to live under their foes. But those who, having been summoned to the war, had not assembled, or had taken no part in it, being taken up with their own matters and necessary concerns, when as time passed by rendering loyal obedience they won the favour of their lords, began to be treated as tenants in their own persons at their lord's pleasure but without right of succession. But the time came when on every side those whom their lord disliked were turned out of their possessions, and none would restore that which was taken away ; and a common murmur of the natives reached the king's ears, that, held in general hatred and being utterly despoiled, they were being forced into subjection to foreigners. Having taken counsel thereupon, it was decreed that what they had been able to obtain by their own deserts and by lawful agreement should be granted to them with security of law ; but that they might claim nothing by hereditary title from the time of the Conquest. It is clear how prudent was this device, especially since they were bound to strive their best, in whatever way was to their own interest, to earn their lord's favour by loyal obedience. Thus whoever of the subject race enjoys estates or the like obtained it not because he thought it his due by right of inheritance but solely because he has acquired it by desert or by agreement.

#### 4. THE IRISH IN 1170

[GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS: *Topographia Hibernica*]

Richard de Clare (Strongbow), and other adventurers went to Ireland in 1170 to restore the king of Leinster to his throne. In 1172 Henry II claimed his own recognition as sovereign.

This and the following section describe the Irish people, and the formal submission of the Irish chiefs to Henry's supremacy.

The Irish are a rude people, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living themselves like beasts—a people that has not yet departed from the primitive habits of the pastoral life. In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town, and to the social condition of citizens; but this nation, holding agricultural labour in contempt, and little coveting the wealth of towns, as well as being exceedingly averse to civil institutions, lead the same life their fathers did in the woods and open pastures, neither willing to abandon their old habits nor to learn anything new. They, therefore, only make patches of tillage; their pastures are short of herbage; cultivation is very rare, and there is scarcely any land sown. This want of tilled fields arises from the neglect of those who should cultivate them; for there are large tracts which are naturally fertile and productive. The whole habits of the people are contrary to agricultural pursuits, so that the rich glebe is barren for want of husbandmen, the fields demanding labour which is not forthcoming.

Very few sorts of fruit-trees are found in the country, a defect arising not from the nature of the soil, but from want of industry in planting them; for the lazy husbandman does not take the trouble to plant the foreign sorts which would grow very well here. There

are four kinds of trees indigenous in Britain which are wanting here. Two of them are fruit-bearing trees, the chestnut and beech; the other two, the aralus and the box, though they bear no fruit, are serviceable for making cups and handles. Yews, with their bitter sap, are more frequently to be found in this country than in any other I have visited; but you will see them principally in old cemeteries and sacred places; where they were planted in ancient times by the hands of holy men, to give them what ornament and beauty they could. The forests of Ireland also abound with fir-trees, producing frankincense and incense. There are also veins of various kinds of metals ramifying in the bowels of the earth, which, from the same idle habits, are not worked and turned to account. Even gold, which the people require in large quantities and still covet in a way that speaks their Spanish origin, is brought here by the merchants who traverse the ocean for the purpose of commerce. They never employ themselves in the manufacture of flax or wool, or in any kind of trade or mechanical art; but abandoning themselves to idleness, and immersed in sloth, their greatest delight is to be exempt from toil, their richest possession the enjoyment of liberty.

This people, then, is truly barbarous, being not only barbarous in their dress, but suffering their hair and beards to grow enormously in an uncouth manner, just like the modern fashion recently introduced; indeed, all their habits are barbarisms. But habits are formed by mutual intercourse; and as this people inhabit a country so remote from the rest of the world, and lying at its farthest extremity, forming, as it were, another world, and thus secluded from civilised nations,



they learn nothing, and practise nothing but the barbarism in which they are born and bred, and which sticks to them like a second nature. Whatever natural gifts they possess are excellent, in whatever requires industry they are worthless.

## 5. SUBMISSION OF THE IRISH

[GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS: *Conquest of Ireland*]

After these occurrences the king, leaving Robert Fitz-Bernard with a garrison at Waterford, moved his army towards Dublin, through Ossory. Making some stay on the road, the chief men of these parts came and swore fealty and allegiance to him, obtaining from the merciful king assurance of peace and favour. Among these were Machelan of Ophelan, MacTalewy, Othwetel, Gillemohmoch, O'Eadhese, O'Carvel of Uriel, and O'Roric of Meath. But Roderic of Connaught only met the king's messengers, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, at the water of Shannon, which divides Meath from Connaught. He also sued for peace, and acknowledging the king of England as his supreme lord, became tributary to him, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths of alliance and fealty. Thus did all the princes of Ireland, except those of Ulster, severally make their submission for themselves; and thus, also, in the person of Roderic, prince of Connaught, and the titular head of the Irish and monarch of the whole island, they all became vassals to the king of England. Indeed, there was scarcely any one of name or rank in the island, who did not, either in person or otherwise, pay to the king's majesty the homage due from a liege-man to his lord.

Then was fulfilled that ancient and well-known

prophecy of Merlinus Ambrosius (I do not vouch for its authenticity): "The sixth shall overthrow the walls of Ireland"; and another prediction of the same prophet: "The five portions shall be reduced to one."

The feast of Christmas drawing near, very many of the princes of the land repaired to Dublin to visit the king's court, and were much astonished at the sumptuousness of his entertainments and the splendour of his household; and having places assigned to them at the tables in the hall, by the king's command, they learnt to eat cranes which were served up, a food they before loathed. It was at this time that the archers laid violent hands on the trees planted by the hands of the saints in old times round the cemetery at Finglass, and were carried off by a new sort of pestilence, as I have related in my *Topography*.

The king having now silenced all opposition by his presence, and the island enjoying peace and tranquillity, he was the more inflamed with zeal to advance the honour of the church of God and the Christian religion in those parts, for which purpose he convoked a synod of the clergy of the whole of Ireland at Cashel. At this synod enquiry was publicly made into the enormous offences and foul lives of the people of that land; which having been recounted and carefully reduced to writing under the seal of the bishop of Lismore, who, as the Pope's legate presided at the synod: many godly constitutions, which are yet extant, were made with regard to contracting marriages, the payment of tithes, the reverence due to churches, and the duty of frequenting them. These constitutions the king promulgated, being very desirous of bringing the church of Ireland in all respects into conformity with the English church.

## 6. RICHARD CŒUR DE LION IN PALESTINE

[*Itinerarium*]

Here is described an engagement in Palestine between a force of Crusaders led by Richard Cœur de Lion, and an army of Saracens.

On the morrow therefore, of St Bartholomew, being Sunday, the army was drawn up early in the morning to advance along the sea-coast, in the name of the Lord. Oh! what fine soldiers they were! You might there see a chosen company of virtuous and brave warriors, whose equals it would have been difficult to meet with; bright armour and pennons, with their glittering emblazonry; banners of various forms; lances, with gleaming points; shining helmets, and coats of mail; an army well disciplined in the camp, and terrible to the foe! King Richard commanded the van, and kept the foremost guard. The Normans defended the standard, which we do not consider it irrelevant here to describe. It was formed of a long beam, like the mast of a ship; made of most solid ceiled work, on four wheels; put together with joints, bound with iron, and to all appearance no sword or axe could cut, or fire injure it. A chosen body of soldiers was generally appointed to guard it, especially in a combat on the plains, lest by any hostile attack, it should be broken or thrown down; for if it fell by accident, the army would be dispersed and put into confusion. For they are dismayed when it does not appear, and think that their general must be overcome by faintheartedness when they do not see his standard flying; for no people have strength to resist the enemy if their chief is in alarm from the fall of his standard; but whilst it remains

erect they have a certain refuge. Near it the weak are strengthened: the wounded soldiers, even those of rank and celebrity, who fall in his battle, are carried to it: and it is called "Standard," from its standing a most compact signal to the army. It is very properly drawn on wheels, for it is advanced when the enemy yields and drawn back if they press on, according to the state of the battle. It was surrounded by the Normans and English.

The duke of Burgundy and the French brought up the rear, and by their tardy movements and long delay incurred severe loss. The army marched along the sea-shore, which was on its right, and the Turks watched its movements from the heights on the left. On a sudden the clouds grew dark, and the sky was troubled, when the army arrived at some narrow roads impassable for the provision-waggons: here, owing to the narrowness of the way, the order of march was thrown into confusion, and they advanced in extended line, and without discipline. The Saracens, observing this, poured down suddenly on the pack-horses, and loaded waggons, slew both horses and men in a moment, and plundered a great deal of the baggage, boldly charging and dispersing those who opposed them as far as the sea-shore. Then there took place a fierce and obstinate conflict; each fought for his life. Here a Turk cut off the right hand of Everard, one of the bishop of Salisbury's men, as he held his sword; the man, without changing countenance in the least, with his left hand boldly took the sword, and closing with the Turks who were pressing on him, defended himself courageously from them all.

By this time the rear was put to confusion, and

John FitzLuke, alarmed at the mishap, put spurs to his horse, and went to tell King Richard, who was ignorant of what had taken place. On hearing all, he rode off at full gallop to their assistance, cutting down the Turks, right and left, like lightning, with his sword. And quickly, as of yore the Philistines fled from Maccabeus, so were the Turks routed, and so did they fly from the face of King Richard, and make for the mountains; but some of them remained amongst us, having lost their heads. In that conflict one of the French, William de Barr, who had been at variance with king Richard from some old grudge, by his extraordinary good conduct, was reconciled and restored to the king's former favour. The Sultan was not far off with the whole strength of his army, but owing to the aforesaid repulse, the Turks, despairing of success, refrained from attacking our men any more, but watched them from the heights. Our troops, being restored to order, proceeded on their march as far as a river which they by chance met with, and cisterns; the excellence of which being ascertained, they pitched their tents, and rested there on a spacious plain where they had seen that Saladin had fixed his camp before, and they judged that he had a very large army by the extent of the trodden ground. On the first day our army fared thus, and by God's providence they were warned to be more cautious, after having experienced how much loss they might escape if properly on their guard another time.

## 7. THE INTERDICT

[ROGER OF WENDOVER]

Pope Innocent III nominated Stephen Langton archbishop of Canterbury, setting aside the men chosen by king John and the Chapter of Canterbury respectively. John refused to accept Langton, and the result was a long conflict with the papacy, ending in John's submission. The Interdict was a Papal decree depriving the country of the usual services of the Church.

In the same year pope Innocent, on learning that king John's heart was so hardened that he would not either by persuasion or threats be induced to consent to receive Stephen as archbishop of Canterbury, was touched to the heart with grief. By advice of his cardinals he sent orders to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Mauger bishop of Winchester, to go to the said king, about the matter of the church of Canterbury, and to give him wholesome counsel to yield to God in this matter, and so secure the Lord's favour : but if they found him contumacious and rebellious as he had hitherto been, he ordered them to lay an interdict on the whole kingdom of England, and to denounce to the said king that, if he did not check his boldness by that means, he, the Pope, would lay his hand on him still more heavily : since it was necessary for Him to conquer, who for the safety of the Holy Church had made war on the devil and his angels, and despoiled the cloisters of hell. He also, by letters of the apostolic see, gave orders to the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, and to the other prelates of that diocese, that by virtue of their obedience, they were to receive the aforesaid archbishop as their father and pastor, and were to obey him with all due affection.

The bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester, in execution of the legateship entrusted to them, went to king John, and after duly setting forth the apostolic commands, entreated of him humbly and with tears, that he, having God in his sight, would recall the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury to their church, and honour and love them with perfect affection; and they informed him that thus he would avoid the shame of an interdict, and the Disposer of rewards would, if he did so, multiply his temporal honours on him, and after his death would bestow lasting glory on him. When the said bishops wished, out of regard to the king, to prolong the discourse, the king became nearly mad with rage, and broke forth in words of blasphemy against the Pope and his cardinals, swearing by God's teeth, that, if they or any other priests soever presumptuously dared to lay his dominions under an interdict, he would immediately send all the prelates out of England, clerks as well as ordained persons, to the Pope, and confiscate all their property. He added moreover, that all the clerks of Rome or of the Pope himself who could be found in England or in his other territories, he would send to Rome with their eyes plucked out, and their noses slit, that by these marks they might be known there from other people. In addition to this he plainly ordered the bishops to take themselves quickly from his sight, if they wished to keep their bodies free from harm. The bishops then, not finding any repentance in the king, departed; and, in the Lent following, fearlessly fulfilled the duty required of them by the Pope, and accordingly on the morning of Monday in Passion week, which that year fell on the 23rd of March, they laid a general interdict on the whole of England; which since it was

expressed to be by authority of our lord the Pope, was inviolably observed by all without regard to person or privileges. Therefore, all church services ceased to be performed in England, with the exception only of confession, and the viaticum in cases of extremity, and the baptism of children: the bodies of the dead, too, were carried out of towns and cities, and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests. What need I say more? The bishops, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Mauger of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath, and Giles of Hereford, left England privily, thinking it better to avoid the anger of the enraged king for a time, than to dwell without any good effects in a country which lay under an interdict.

The king of England being greatly enraged on account of the interdict, sent his sheriffs, and other ministers of iniquity, to all quarters of England, giving orders with dreadful threats to all priests, as well as to those subject to them, to depart the kingdom immediately and to demand justice to be afforded him by the Pope for this injury. He also gave all the bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, into the charge of laymen, and ordered all ecclesiastical revenues to be confiscated. But the generality of the prelates of England had cautiously turned their attention to this, and refused to quit their monasteries unless expelled by violence. And when the agents of the king found this out, they would not use violence towards them, because they had not a warrant from the king to that effect; but they converted all their property to the king's use, giving them only a scanty allowance of food and clothing out of their own property. The corn of the clergy was everywhere locked up, and distrained for the benefit of



the revenue ; the concubines of the priests and clerks were taken by the king's servants and compelled to ransom themselves at a great expense ; religious men and other ordained persons of any kind, when found travelling on the road, were dragged from their horses, robbed, and basely ill-treated by the satellites of the king, and no one would do them justice. About that time the servants of a certain sheriff on the confines of Wales came to the king bringing in their custody a robber with his hands tied behind him, who had robbed and murdered a priest on the road ; and on their asking the king what was his pleasure should be done to the robber in such a case, the king immediately answered, " He has slain an enemy of mine, release him and let him go." The relations, too, of the archbishop and bishops who had laid England under an interdict, wherever they could be found, were by the king's orders, taken, robbed of all their property, and thrown into prison. Whilst they were enduring all these evils, the aforesaid prelates were sojourning on the continent, living on all kinds of delicacies instead of placing themselves as a wall for the house of God, as the saying of the Redeemer has it, " When they saw the wolf coming, they quitted the sheep and fled."

## 8. JOHN'S SUBMISSION TO THE POPE

[ROGER OF WENDOVER]

This is the sequel to the last section. The events leading to John's submission are narrated.

### (I)

About this time there dwelt in the county of York a certain hermit named Peter, who was considered a wise man, on account of his having foretold to a number

of people many circumstances which were about to happen. Amongst other things which, in his spirit of prophecy, he had seen concerning John the English king, he openly and before all declared, that he would not be a king on the next approaching Ascension-day, nor afterwards ; for he foretold that on that day the crown of England would be transferred to another. This assertion coming to the king's knowledge, the hermit was, by his orders, brought before him ; and the king asked him if he should die on that day, or how he would be deprived of the throne of the kingdom. The hermit replied, "Rest assured that on the aforesaid day you will not be a king ; and if I am proved to have told a lie, do what you will with me." The king then said to him, "Be it as you say"; and he then delivered the hermit into the custody of William d'Harcourt, who loaded him with chains, and kept him imprisoned at Corfe to await the event of his prophecy. This declaration of the hermit was soon spread abroad even to the most remote provinces, so that almost all who heard it put faith in his words as though his prediction had been declared from heaven. There were at this time in the kingdom of England many nobles, whose wives and daughters the king had violated, to the indignation of their husbands and fathers ; others whom he had by unjust exactions reduced to the extreme of poverty ; some whose parents and kindred he had exiled, converting their inheritances to his own uses ; thus the said king's enemies were as numerous as his nobles. Therefore at this crisis, on learning that they were absolved from their allegiance to John, they were much pleased, and, if report is to be credited, they sent a paper, sealed with the seals of each of the said nobles, to the

king of the French, telling that he might safely come to England, take possession of the kingdom, and be crowned with all honour and dignity.

About this time Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops William of London and Eustace of Ely, went to Rome and informed the Pope of the divers rebellions and enormities perpetrated by the king of England from the time of the interdict up to the present time, by unceasingly laying the hands of rage and cruelty on the Holy Church in opposition to the Lord ; and they therefore humbly supplicated the Pope in his pious compassion to assist the Church of England, now labouring as it were in its last extremities. The Pope then being deeply grieved for the desolation of the kingdom of England, by the advice of his cardinals, bishops, and other wise men, definitely decreed that John king of England should be deposed from the throne of that kingdom, and that another, more worthy than he, to be chosen by the Pope, should succeed him. In pursuance of this his decree, our lord the Pope wrote to the most potent Philip, king of the French, ordering him, in remission of all his faults, to undertake this business, and declaring that, after he had expelled the English king from the throne of that kingdom, he and his successors should hold possession of the kingdom of England for ever.

Besides this, he wrote to all the nobles and knights, and other warlike men throughout the different countries, ordering them to assume the badge of the Cross, and to follow the king of the French as their leader, to dethrone the English king, and thus to avenge the insult which had been cast on the Church Universal ; he also ordered that all those who afforded money or

personal assistance in overthrowing that contumacious king, should, like those who went to visit the Lord's sepulchre, remain secure under the protection of the Church, as regarded their property, persons, and spiritual interests. After this the Pope, on his part, sent Pandulph, a sub-deacon, with the archbishop and bishops above named, into the French provinces, that in his own presence all his commands above related might be fulfilled. Pandulph, however, on leaving the Pope, when all others were away from him, secretly inquired of his Holiness what it was his pleasure should be done, if by chance he should find any of the fruits of repentance in John, so that he would give satisfaction to the Lord and the Church of Rome for all matters in regard of this business. The Pope then dictated a simple form of peace, and said that if John determined to agree to it, he might find favour with the apostolic see.

## (H)

Whilst the English king was with his army waiting the approach of the king of the French near the sea-coast, two of the brothers of the Temple arrived at Dover, and coming to the king in a friendly manner said to him, "We have been sent to you, most potent king, for the benefit of yourself and your kingdom, by Pandulph the sub-deacon and familiar of our lord the Pope, who desires to have an interview with you; and he will propose to you a form of peace, by which you can be reconciled to God and to the church, although you have by the court of Rome been deposed from your right to the sovereignty of England, and have been condemned by decree of that court." The king then, on hearing this speech of the Templars ordered them

immediately to cross the sea and fetch Pandulph to him. Pandulph therefore, on this invitation of the king, came to him at Dover, and spoke to him in these words ; “ Behold, the most potent king of the French is at the mouth of the Seine with a countless fleet, and a large army of horse and foot, waiting till he is strengthened with a larger force, to come upon you and your kingdom, and to expel you from it by force, as an enemy to the Lord and the supreme pontiff, and afterwards, by authority of the apostolic see to take possession of the kingdom of England for ever. There are also coming with him all the bishops who have for a long while been banished from England, with the exiled clergy and laity, by his assistance to recover by force their episcopal sees and other property, and to fulfil to him for the future the obedience formerly shewn to you and your ancestors. The said king moreover says that he holds papers of fealty and subjection from almost all the nobles of England, on which account he feels secure of bringing the business he has undertaken to a most successful termination. Consult therefore your own advantage, and become penitent as if you were in your last moments, and delay not to appease God whom you have provoked to a heavy vengeance. If you are willing to give sufficient security that you will submit yourself before Him who humbled himself for you, you may, through the compassion of the apostolic see, recover the sovereignty, from which you have been adjudicated at Rome on account of your contumacy. Now therefore reflect, lest your enemies shall have cause to rejoice over you, and bring not yourself into difficulties, from which, however you may wish to do so, you will not be able to extricate yourself.”

King John hearing and seeing the truth of all this was much annoyed and alarmed, seeing how imminent the danger was on every side. There were four principal reasons, which urged him to repentance and atonement; the first was that he had been now for five years lying under excommunication, and had so offended God and Holy Church, that he gave up all hopes of saving his soul; the second was, that he dreaded the arrival of the French king, who was waiting near the sea-coast with a countless army, and planning his downfall; the third was, he feared, should he give battle to his approaching enemies, lest he should be abandoned to himself in the field by the nobles of England and his own people, or be given up to his enemies for destruction; but his fourth reason alarmed him more than all the rest, for the day of our Lord's Ascension was drawing near, when he feared that, according to the prophecy of the hermit Peter mentioned above, he should with his life lose the temporal as well as the eternal kingdom. Being therefore driven to despair by these and the like reasons, he yielded to the persuasions of Pandulph, and, although not without pain, he granted the form of peace; he also swore by the holy gospels in the presence of Pandulph, that he would be obedient to the church's sentence, and sixteen of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom swore on the soul of the king himself, that, should he repent of his promise they would, to the utmost of their power, compel him to fulfil it.....

Matters having thus been arranged on the fifteenth of May, which was the eve of Ascension-day, the English king and Pandulph, with the nobles of the kingdom, met at the house of the Knights Templars near Dover, and there the said king, according to a decree pronounced

at Rome, resigned his crown, with the kingdoms of England and Ireland, into the hands of our lord the Pope, whose functions the said Pandulph was then performing. After having resigned them then he gave the aforesaid kingdoms to the Pope and his successors, and confirmed them to the latter by charter.

This charter of the king's, having been reduced to writing, he delivered it to Pandulph to be taken to Pope Innocent, and immediately afterwards in the sight of all he made the underwritten homage: "I John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, will, from this time as formerly, be faithful to God, St Peter, the Church of Rome, and to my liege lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors; I will not act, speak, or consent to, or advise, anything by which they may lose life or limb, or be exposed to caption by treachery; I will prevent damage to them if I am aware of it; and, if in my power, will repair it; or else I will inform them as soon as it is in my power so to do, or will tell it to such persons as I believe will be sure to inform them of it; any purpose which they may entrust to me themselves, or by their messengers or letters, I will keep secret, and, if I know of it, will not disclose it to any one to their injury; I will assist in holding and defending the inheritance of St Peter, and particularly the kingdoms of England and Ireland, against all men, to the utmost of my power. So may God and the holy gospel help me, Amen." This happened as we said before, on the eve of Ascension-day, in the presence of the bishops, earls, and other nobles. The day of our Lord's Ascension on the morrow was looked for with mistrust, not only by the king, but by all others, as well absent as present, on account of the assertions of the hermit Peter, who,

as was stated before, had prophesied to John that he would not be a king on Ascension-day or afterwards. But after he had passed the prefixed day, and continued safe and in health, the king ordered the aforesaid Peter, who was detained a prisoner in Corfe Castle, to be tied to a horse's tail at the town of Wareham, dragged through the streets of the town, and afterwards hanged on a gibbet, together with his son. To many it did not seem that he deserved to be punished by such a cruel death for declaring the truth; for if the circumstances stated above to have happened be thoroughly considered, it will be proved that he did not tell a falsehood.

## 9. THE CHARTER

[ROGER OF WENDOVER]

John, having submitted to Pope Innocent and become his "man," had the Pope on his side in the constitutional struggle with the barons. They, however, under the guidance of Archbishop Langton, succeeded in compelling the king to seal Magna Carta.

A.D. 1215, which was the seventeenth year of the reign of king John, he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London, and took up his abode at the New Temple. And at that place [sundry] nobles came to him in military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of king Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England, such as were contained in the charter, and above-mentioned laws of Henry the First. They also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Winchester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was



bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle. However he made answer that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty; and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown.

After much discussion on both sides, the king at

Johannes dei Gra. Rex Angli. Dns Hybr. Dux Normann. Aquit. & Comes  
 Andeg. Archiepis. Episc. Abbatibz. Comitibz. Baronibz. Justic. & ceteris. benc  
 comitibz. Prepositis. Milibz. & omnibz. Ballivis & liby. nris. Salu. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Nullus liber homo capietur in prisonem. aut dissolvatur. aut velletur  
 aut exulet. aut aliquo modo destruat. nec sup. eum ibimul. nec sup. eum mitamul. nisi p. le-  
 gale iudicium parium suorum. ut p. legem terre. \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Dada p. manum nram in prato qd vocat Buningmed Inter  
 Wintonie. & Grednes. Dato decimo die Junij. Anno Regni nostri Septu-  
 mo decimo.

Specimen of Magna Carta

length, although unwillingly, procured the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William Marshall, as his sureties that, on the day pre-agreed on, he would, in all reason, satisfy them all; on which the nobles returned to their homes. The king however, wishing to take precautions against the future, caused all the nobles throughout England to swear fealty to him alone against all men, and to renew their homage to him; and, the better to take care of himself, he, on the day

of St Mary's purification, assumed the cross of our Lord, being induced to this more by fear than by devotion.

In Easter week of this same year, the nobles above mentioned assembled at Stratford, with horses and arms : for they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army ; for in their army there were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped....The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday, next after the octaves of Easter, the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley ; and when the king learned this, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshall earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them to enquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that, unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands. The archbishop with his fellow messengers then carried the paper to the king and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout. The king when he heard the purport of these heads, derisively said, with the greatest indignation, " Why, amongst these unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my kingdom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared with an oath, that he would never grant them

such liberties as would render him their slave. The principal of these laws and liberties, which the nobles required to be confirmed to them, have been partly described in the charter of king Henry, and partly are extracted from the old laws of king Edward, as the following history will shew in due time.

As the archbishop and William Marshall could not by any persuasions induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's order to the barons, and duly reported all they had heard from the king to them ; and when the nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter commander of their soldiers, giving him the title of "Marshal of the army of God and the holy church," and then, one and all flying to arms, they directed their forces towards Northampton. On their arrival there they at once laid siege to the castle, but after having stayed there for fifteen days, and having gained little or no advantage, they determined to move their camp ; for having come without *petrariæ* and other engines of war, they, without accomplishing their purpose, proceeded in confusion to the castle at Bedford. At that siege the standard-bearer of Robert Fitz-Walter, amongst others slain, was pierced through the head with an arrow from a cross-bow and died, to the grief of many.

When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, they were received with all respect by William de Beauchamp. There also came to them there messengers from the city of London, secretly telling them, if they wished to get into that city, to come there immediately. The barons, inspired by the arrival of this agreeable message, immediately moved their camp and arrived at Ware ; after this they marched the whole night, and

arrived early in the morning at the city of London; and, finding the gates open, they, on the 24th of May, which was the Sunday next before our Lord's Ascension, entered the city without any tumult whilst the inhabitants were performing divine service: for the rich citizens were favourable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them. The barons having thus got into the city placed their own guard in charge of each of the gates, and then arranged all matters in the city at will. They then took security from the citizens, and sent letters throughout England to those earls, barons and knights, who appeared to be still faithful to the king (though they only pretended to be so): and advised them with threats, as they regarded the safety of all their property and possessions, to abandon a king who was perjured and who warred against his barons: and together with them to stand firm and fight against the king for their rights and for peace: and that, if they refused to do this, they, the barons, would make war against them all, as against open enemies, and would destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and destroy their warrens, parks and orchards.....

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal super-abundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons should attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their doing so. Therefore he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshall earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honour



### Runnymede

*(The Barons were encamped "in the meadow which is called Runnymede")*

of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required; he also sent word to the barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and with deceit reported to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them; they in their great joy appointed the fifteenth of June for the king to meet them, at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place pre-agreed on, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties.....

At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed king John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter.

## 10. THE PARLIAMENT OF 1248

[MATTHEW PARIS]

Henry III was a minor during the first eleven years of his reign.

After he took the government into his own hands he was guided by favourites, usually foreigners. Twenty years of misrule produced the situation described in this and the following section.

About the beginning of the year, in the octaves of the Purification, the nobles of all England were convoked at London to confer with the king on the affairs of the kingdom, which was now greatly disturbed, impoverished, and injured. In accordance with this summons, therefore, there came thither nine bishops and nine earls, besides a great number of barons, knights and other nobles, and also of abbots, priors, and clerks. Amongst

them were the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Rochester, and Carlisle ; Earl Richard, the earls of Gloucester, Leicester, Winchester, and Hereford ; Roger Bigod, earl marshal, the earl of Oxford, and besides them the earl of Lincoln, Earl Ferrers, Earl Warrenne, and Peter of Savoy, earl of Richmond. The prelates who were not present at this great assembly were Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, who was fighting for the Pope on the continent, the bishop of Durham, who was ill at a distance, and the bishop of Bath, who had lately died. The king then explained to them his purpose, which indeed was not a secret to the community in general, and asked pecuniary aid from them ; whereupon he was severely rebuked and reproached, in that he was not ashamed to demand such assistance at that time, especially because on the last exaction of a similar kind, to which the nobles of England were with difficulty induced to give their consent, he gave his charter that he would not again make such an exaction. He was also most severely blamed (and no wonder) for the indiscreet way in which he summoned foreigners into the kingdom, and for lavishly and indiscreetly scattering the property of the kingdom amongst them, and also for marrying the nobles of the kingdom to ignoble foreigners ; thus despising and putting aside his native and natural subjects, and without asking the consent of both parties, which is necessary to the completion of a marriage. He was also blamed, and not without reason, because he seized by force on whatever he used in the way of meat and drink—especially wine, and even clothes—against the will of those who sold those things, and were the true owners ; wherefore the native dealers

withdrew and hid themselves, as also did foreigners, who would otherwise bring their goods for sale to that country. Thus a stop was put to trade, by which different nations are mutually enriched and strengthened, and thus we are defamed and impoverished, because they obtain nothing but lawsuits and anger from the king; and by this he, the said king, incurs awful maledictions from numberless people, to the peril and disgrace of himself and the whole kingdom. From these traders, moreover, he, in order that he may bestow alms indiscreetly, and may make immoderate illuminations, forcibly seizes wax, silk, stuffs, and other things, without making any terms of pacification; thus bringing scandal on himself, his kingdom, and all who inhabit it, and not without giving serious offence to God, who holds rapine in abhorrence when connected with an offering. In all these proceedings he tyrannizes and oppresses to such a degree that even on the sea-coast he does not allow the herrings and other fish to be disposed of at the will of the poor fishermen, nor do they dare to appear in the places adjoining the sea-coast, or in the cities, for fear of being robbed; so that they consider it safer to trust themselves to the stormy billows, and to seek the further shore.

The miserable traders also are so cruelly oppressed and annoyed by the royal agents, that punishment is added to loss; and injury is heaped upon injury, both as regards their own persons, and as regards their carriages and their horses already jaded. The king was, moreover, reprehended, in that he, contrary to the first and chief oath which he made at his coronation, impoverished even to their ruin the bishoprics and abbacies; as well as the vacant wardships founded by



the nobles and holy fathers, which for a long time he detains in his own hands, of which he ought to be the protector and defender ; and therefore they are said to be in his hands, that is, under his protection. Another complaint was no slight one ; and this was, that, unlike his noble predecessors, he never appointed either a justiciar, a chancellor, or treasurer, in consonance with the advice of the kingdom in general, as he ought and was expedient, but only such persons as obeyed his pleasure in everything, provided that it was advantageous to himself ; who moreover did not seek the advancement of the common weal, but only their own especial benefit, by collecting money and obtaining wardships and revenues for themselves.

The king, at hearing these complaints, was confused and ashamed of himself, as he knew that all the charges were true. He therefore promised most faithfully that he would willingly amend these matters, hoping by this humiliation, although only feigned, more easily to bend the hearts of all to accede to his demand. To this, however, the assembly, who had been often ensnared by such promises, replied, "This will be seen plainly enough, and within a short time ; we will still wait patiently, and as the king shall conduct and bear himself towards us, so will we obey him in all matters." Everything then was put off, and referred to consideration until the fortnight of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. The king, in the meantime, either of his own accord, or at the instigation of his courtiers, who did not wish their power to be weakened, became obdurate and more exasperated against his subjects, and took but very little trouble to make amends to them for the above-mentioned excesses, as he had promised to do.

## 11. THE MISDOINGS OF HENRY III, 1249-1252

[MATTHEW PARIS]

The king, however, did not, as he ought, give glory to God the Lord of Hosts for the victory granted to him ; but began sedulously to think how he could entirely dry up the inexhaustible well of England. For, on meeting with a just repulse from the assembly of nobles, as above mentioned, who stated that they would no longer lavish their property to the ruin of the kingdom, he studied, by other cunning devices, to quench the thirst of his cupidity. Immediately after the festivities of the said season, he entered upon the following plan of harassing the citizens of London. He suspended the carrying on of traffic in that city, as has been before mentioned, for a fortnight, by establishing a new fair at Westminster, to the loss and injury of many ; and immediately afterwards he sent letters by his agents, containing subtle and imperious entreaties, asking them for pecuniary aid. On receipt of this message, the citizens were grieved to the heart, and said : " Woe to us, woe to us : where is the liberty of London, which is so often bought ; so often granted ; so often guaranteed by writing ; so often sworn to be respected ? For each year almost, like slaves of the lowest condition, we are impoverished by new tallages, and injuriously harassed by fox-like arguments ; nor can we discover into what whirlpool the property of which we are robbed is absorbed." At length, however, although immense sums were demanded, the citizens, although unwillingly and not without bitterness of heart, yielded their consent to a contribution of two thousand pounds, to be paid to the king in a brief period. His usual oppression, moreover,

raged without any moderation ; for all vendible articles, if they were not concealed, as if they were stolen goods, especially meats and drinks, were seized for the use of the king ; and yet his house did not acquire any increase of hospitality therefrom ; but banishing all shame, he stinted himself more every day, with a reprehensible sparingness ; the ancient kingly hospitality was expelled from his door, and the custom of the Roman table made its way in, obscuring in no slight degree his fame and honour as a king.

The king in the meantime did not cease to scrape up money from all quarters, principally from the Jews, and, in a secondary degree, from his own natural Christian subjects : to such a degree did he carry his exactions amongst the former that from one of them, named Aaron, who was born at York and kept a house in that city, he extorted fourteen thousand marks, and ten thousand in gold, for the use of the queen (because, as was reported, he was proved guilty of forging a certain charter), to be paid at a short period, to prevent his being put in prison. Besides paying all this, it was found out that this said Aaron had paid to the king, on his return from the continent, the sum of thirty thousand marks of silver, and two hundred in gold, for the use of the queen ; as he, the said Jew Aaron, declared by legal attestation and on his faith, to Brother Matthew, the writer of this book. However, miserable though they were, they were none of them deserving of pity, because they were clearly proved to have been corrupters of the king's money, and forgers of seals and charters ; for which they had been frequently reprov'd and condemned.

At this time, the king day by day lost the affection

of his natural subjects, and that not now by small degrees; for, openly following the example of his father, he enticed all the foreigners he could to his side, enriched them, and, despising and despoiling his English subjects, intruded aliens into their place: at one time Earl Richard, at another the archbishop, now the bishop of Winchester and his other brothers, now the bishop of Hereford, and now Peter of Savoy, and others, whom he had summoned from all quarters. Hence many kings rose up in England, to carry off carts and horses, provisions and clothing, and indeed all necessaries; the Poitevins also employed themselves in oppressing the nobles of the country, and especially religious men, in a thousand ways; and if any one were to recount only the injuries which William de Valence inflicted on the abbot of St Albans and the prior of Tynemouth, he would draw tears from his hearers; but of those matters an account is given in the book of Additaments, to shorten the length of this work.

The king, however, persisted in his usual extravagances, and as if in revenge for this opposition of the prelates, continued to distribute the vacant escheats and revenues amongst unknown, scurrilous, and undeserving foreigners, in order to inflict an irreparable wound upon the heads of his natural subjects. Not to name others, we think it right to mention in this volume the following case as one out of many. In the service of Geoffrey de Lusignan, the king's brother, was a certain chaplain, who served as a fool and buffoon to the king, the said Geoffrey his master, and all the court, and whose sayings, like those of a silly jester and cup-bearer, contributed to their amusement, and excited their laughter. On this man the king bestowed the rich church of Preston, which had

formerly belonged to William Haverhull, the lately deceased treasurer of the king ; the yearly proceeds of which church amounted to more than a hundred pounds. This same chaplain, a Poitevin by birth, utterly ignorant alike in manners and learning, we have seen pelting the king, his brother Geoffrey, and other nobles, whilst walking in the orchard of St Albans, with turf, stones and green apples, and pressing the juice of unripe grapes in their eyes, like a lunatic. Despicable alike in his gesture, mode of speech, and habits, as well as in size and personal appearance, this man might be considered as a stage actor rather than a priest—as he was, to the great disgrace of the priestly order. To such persons the king of England intrusted the care and guardianship of many thousands of souls, rejecting such a vast number of learned, prudent and proper men as England has given birth to, who know the language of the natives, and how to instruct the ignorant. In like manner, also, to provoke the anger and hatred of worthy men, the king ill-advisedly gave away the other church benefices which had belonged to the aforesaid William, to unworthy men and foreigners, whose incapability and uselessness were shewn by their extraordinary conduct, and who were plainly proved to be reprobates by their conversation. This digression from the subject of our narrative is elicited by our sorrow for the causes of it.

## 12. THE MAD PARLIAMENT

[MATTHEW PARIS]

In 1258 the anger of the barons at the misrule of Henry III came to a head. Led by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, they forced him to submit to the arrangements made by what was known as the "Mad Parliament."

As the feast of St Barnabas drew near, the magnates and nobles of the country hastened to the parliament which was to be held at Oxford, and gave orders to all those who owed them knight-service, to accompany them, equipped and prepared as if to defend their persons against the attacks of enemies. This they accordingly carried into effect, concealing their real reasons for so doing under the pretence that their coming in such a way was to shew themselves ready to set out with their united forces against the king's enemies in Wales. The fact was, they entertained no slight fears that, in consequence of the disagreement of parties, an intestine war should break out amongst themselves, and that the king and his Poitevin brethren would call on the foreigners to aid them against his own natural subjects. Moreover the nobles took further precautions for carefully guarding the seaports. At the commencement of the parliament, the proposed plan of the nobles was unalterably decided on; and they most expressly demanded that the king should faithfully keep and observe the conditions of the charter of the liberties of England, which his father, King John, had made and granted to his English subjects, and which he, the said John, had sworn to observe; which said charter, he, the present King Henry, had many times granted and sworn to observe, and against all violators

of which he ordered sentence of excommunication to be published by all the bishops of England, in the presence of himself and of his barons, he himself being one of the excommunicators. They moreover demanded that a justiciar should be appointed to render justice to those who suffered injuries, with equal impartiality towards the rich and the poor. They also made some other demands, in connection with the affairs of the kingdom, tending to promote the welfare, peace, and honour, as well of the king as of the kingdom; moreover they insisted that the king should frequently consult them, and listen to their advice in making all necessary provisions; and they made oath, giving their right hands to one another in pledge of faith, that they would prosecute their design, at the risk of losing their money, their lands, and even their lives, as well as those of their people. The king acknowledged the reasonableness of these remonstrances, and solemnly swore that he would give heed to their counsels; and his son Edward was bound down by a similar oath. This oath, however, was refused by John, Earl of Warenne, and the uterine brothers of the king, William de Valence, and others. Orders were, moreover, issued for the ports of England to be more strictly guarded, and for the gates of London to be carefully and more secretly fastened by night; on which some one said: "Through the night the gates of London were shut, for fear the deceit of Frenchmen should break the city."

After they had prolonged their stay at Oxford for some days, they met together at a house of the Preacher brethren, to deliberate as to what was to be done in the difficult matter of improving the condition of the disturbed kingdom. There they renewed afresh their

alliance, and reiterated their oath, and confirmed their determination that they would not allow themselves, for life or death, or for their possessions, for hatred or love, or for any reason whatever, to be bent from, or weakened in, their design of purifying from ignoble foreigners the kingdom which gave birth to themselves and their ancestors, who were men of noble race, and of regaining proper and commendable laws; and they resolved that if any one, whosoever he might be, should oppose this determination, he should be compelled, even though against his will, to join them. Although the king and his eldest son, Edward, had taken the oath, the latter began, as far as he could, to draw back from it, as did also John, Earl Warenne. Henry, the son of Richard, king of Germany, wavered, and said that he would on no account take such an oath without the advice and permission of his father; whereupon he was told plainly and publicly, that even if his father himself would not acquiesce in the plan of the barons, he should not keep possession of one furrow of land in England. The aforesaid brothers of the king had, moreover, sworn positively, by the death and wounds of Christ, that they would never, as long as they lived, give up the castles, revenues, or guardianships which their brother, the king, had freely given them, although Simon, earl of Leicester, had given up gratis to the king his castles of Kenilwithe and Odiham, which he had repaired and fortified a few days previously.

When they made this declaration, affirming it by unmentionable oaths, Simon, earl of Leicester, addressing himself to William de Valence, who was blustering more than the others, replied: "You may rest assured that you will undoubtedly lose your head"; and the other



earls and barons said the same, and swore to it in a most determined manner. The Poitevins were in consequence in great alarm, and knew not what to do ; for if they betook themselves for concealment to any castle, being destitute of all stores and means of defence, they would be besieged, and would perish of hunger ; for even if the nobles did not do so, the whole community of the people at large would besiege them, and destroy their castles to the very foundations. They therefore suddenly and secretly took to flight, whilst dinner was being prepared ; and that their design might not be found out, they pretended that they wished to sit down to dinner. As they fled, they frequently looked behind them, and made some of their retainers ascend high towers to watch if the barons followed in pursuit of them ; nor did they spare their horses' sides till they reached Winchester, where, in their fear, they placed themselves, as it were, under the protecting wings of the bishop elect of Winchester, on whom all their hopes depended ; and moreover, their hopes of finding a safe place of refuge in the castles belonging to him, the said bishop elect. The nobles in the meantime became more firmly leagued together, and appointed as their justiciar, Hugh Bigod, brother of the earl marshal, an illustrious and high-born knight, of pure English blood, and well skilled in the laws of the country ; and he fulfilled the duties of justiciar with vigour, and would not allow the rights of the kingdom to be shaken on any account.

When the nobles were made aware of the certain flight of the Poitevins, as aforesaid, they feared that the fugitives might get near to the sea-coast and summon foreigners, Poitevins and others, from the continent, to

their aid. Seeing, then, that the delay brought on danger, they gave strict orders to their vassals, and to all their partisans, to fly to arms, and to mount their horses with all haste ; and thus ended the parliament at Oxford, without any fixed and definite result.

### 13. THE END OF EARL SIMON

[MATTHEW PARIS *continued* ]

After the Mad Parliament and the Provisions of Oxford, war again broke out between the king's party and Simon de Montfort's baronial party. Montfort obtained the upper hand by his victory at Lewes. Prince Edward was held in ward as a hostage. But jealousy of Montfort and dislike of his ideas drove a number of the barons to the royalist side. Montfort again had to take up arms ; but Edward, who escaped from custody, overthrew him at Evesham where he was killed.

In this year, whilst the king's son Edward was still detained in custody in the castle of Hereford, a disagreement arose between Simon earl of Leicester, and Gilbert de Clare, the cause of which was as follows : The earl of Leicester was not content with detaining the king of England in his own custody, but took the king's castles under his own authority, and arranged the affairs of the whole kingdom at his own will. And what was a principal ground of offence was, that he claimed entirely for himself alone, the proceeds and profits of the kingdom, the ransoms of prisoners, and other emoluments, which ought, according to the terms of their agreement, to be divided equally among them. He seemed also to be held in contempt by his own sons, who had become proud, and had just at this time caused a proclamation to be made of a tournament to be held at Dunstable against the earl of Gloucester, to which

the Londoners came, and a large number of knights and fighting men. When their father Simon heard of this, he rebuked them for their presumption, strictly enjoining them to desist from their proceedings, and threatened them that unless they obeyed his orders, he would put them where they should not enjoy sight of the sun. When the earl of Gloucester heard of this prohibition, he was enraged beyond belief; and many who had made preparations for the aforesaid tournament could ill bear to see themselves balked of their purpose, the greatest source of annoyance being the expense which they had incurred in the matter. So, giving vent to their reproaches against the earl, they said that it was ridiculous for a foreigner to presume to hold the sovereignty of the whole kingdom in his hands. What increased Gilbert's anger was, that when he asked and begged for the other prisoners taken from him (Gilbert) and his followers, Simon had replied by a brief refusal. On account of this, their former friendship was converted into hatred, and the quarrel rose to such a height that neither consideration for his oath, nor devotion to the cause, could thenceforth pacify Gilbert. Moreover, Gilbert defended all the noble knights of the march (of whom mention has been made above) whom Earl Simon had by a public edict ordered to evacuate the kingdom, and having sent to them took them into an alliance with him. Their confederacy was increased by John de Warenne, earl of Surrey and Sussex, and William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who, on their way to the western provinces of Wales, landed at Pembroke. Earl Simon, then, taking the king with him, set out for Hereford, and collected a strong body of troops with the intention of subduing the aforesaid knights by force of arms. In the meantime,

endeavours were made by some of the prelates to bring the earls of Leicester and Gloucester to their former state of friendship and union, but without effect.

About this time, whilst matters were in this state, the king's son Edward, who was detained in custody in the castle of Hereford, obtained permission from his guards to take exercise in a field outside the city, and to amuse himself with trying the speed of their horses. On one occasion, after trying several horses and tiring them out, he at length chose a good one, which he mounted, and urging him to speed with his spurs, he bade farewell to his guards, and crossing the river Wear, he directed his course, accompanied by two knights and four esquires, who were aware of his design, to the castle of Wigmore. His guards gave pursuit to him, but seeing the banners of Roger Mortimer and Roger de Clifford, who were come to assist Edward in his escape, they were out-manœuvred, and so returned to Hereford. These occurrences took place on the eve of the Trinity, and were arranged with the counsel and assistance of the aforesaid knights.

Thus released from his imprisonment, Edward assembled a large army, as numbers flocked to join him, and the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Chester entered into an alliance with him, the towns and villages, cities and castles, pouring forth their inhabitants to join his standard. He at once besieged and took the city of Gloucester, of which the earl had lately gained possession, the garrison left therein taking flight to the castle; but after fifteen days they surrendered the castle also; and on giving their oath not to bear arms against Edward for the future, they were allowed to depart at liberty.

The earl of Leicester in the meantime attacked the castle of Monmouth, which the earl of Gloucester had lately taken and fortified, and having compelled the garrison to surrender, razed the castle to the ground. He then entered Glamorganshire, the territory of the said earl of Gloucester, and being met by the Prince of the Welsh with succour, the two chiefs together ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. Edward, in the meantime, hearing that many of the partisans of Earl Simon had flocked together to the castle of Kenilworth, joined his forces with those of the earl of Gloucester, and setting forth from Worcester in the evening, reached that place by forced marches. Coming on the place suddenly, he made prisoner the earl of Oxford, and about thirteen knights bannerets, before they could enter the castle; in which Simon the son of Earl Simon, had shut himself up. Simon, earl of Leicester, always keeping the king in his company, returned from the south of Wales, and on the festival of St Peter ad Vincula, arrived at Kempsey, a manor of the bishop of Worcester, and stayed there on the day following. Edward then returned from Kenilworth to Worcester, which is only three miles distant from the said manor; and Simon, on hearing of his arrival there, went away with the king at nightfall, and took up his quarters in the town of Evesham, where he awaited his unhappy destiny.

For on the morrow, which was the day of the Finding of St Stephen, Edward moved from Worcester, crossed the river near the town of Claines and cut off the approach of the earl to his son, who was in the castle of Kenilworth and prevented all chance of the father and son meeting. On the following day he drew near the town of Evesham on one side, and the earl of

Gloucester and Roger Mortimer came up with their respective forces in two other directions ; and thus the earl of Leicester was hemmed in on all sides, and was under the necessity either of voluntarily surrendering, or of giving them battle. On the 5th day of August, which fell on the third day of the week, both armies met in a large plain outside the town, where a most severe conflict ensued, till the partisans of the earl began to give way, and the whole weight of the battle falling upon him he was slain on the field. At the time of his death, a storm of thunder and lightning occurred, and darkness prevailed to such an extent, that all were struck with amazement. Besides the earl, there fell, in that battle, twelve knights bannerets ; namely, Henry, his son ; Peter de Montfort ; Hugh Despenser, justiciar of England ; William de Mandeville ; Ralph Basset ; William de Crespigny ; William York ; Robert Tregor ; Thomas Hostelee ; John Beauchamp ; Guy Balliol ; Roger de Roulee ; and a great number of others of inferior rank, such as esquires and foot-soldiers ; the greatest loss being among the Welsh.

Thus ended the labours of that noble man Earl Simon, who gave up not only his property, but his person, to defend the poor from oppression, and for the maintenance of justice and the rights of the kingdom. He was distinguished for his learning ; to him an assiduous attention to divine duties was a pleasure ; he was moderate and frugal ; and it was a usual practice of his to watch by night, in preference to sleeping. He was bold in speech, and of a severe aspect ; he put great confidence in the prayers of men of religion, and always paid great respect to ecclesiastics. He endeavoured to adhere to the counsels of St Robert,

surnamed Grosstête, bishop of Lincoln, and entrusted his children to him to be brought up when very young. On that prelate's counsel he relied when arranging matters of difficulty, when attempting dubious enterprises, and in finishing what he had begun, especially in those matters by which he hoped to increase his merits.

It was reported that the same bishop had enjoined on him, in order to obtain remission of his sins, to take up this cause, for which he fought even to the death ; declaring that the peace of the church of England could not be firmly established except by the sword, and positively assuring him that all who had died for it would be crowned with martyrdom. Some persons, moreover, stated, that on one occasion the bishop placed his hand on the head of the earl's eldest son, and said to him, "My well-beloved child, both thou and thy father shall die on one day, and by one kind of death ; but it will be in the cause of justice and truth." Report goes, that Simon, after his death, was distinguished by the working of many miracles, which, however, were not made publicly known, for fear of kings.

## CHAPTER IV

### EDWARD I, EDWARD II, AND EDWARD III

#### AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) *Chronicle of Lanercost*: annals compiled at the Monastery of Lanercost in Cumberland, or at Carlisle. The authors were honest but had a naturally violent bias against the Scots, besides taking a peculiarly monkish view of men and events.

(2) JEAN FROISSART (1337-1410) wrote in French the famous chronicle which was translated by Lord Berners in the reign of Henry VIII. The first passage cited from his chronicle was taken from the chronicle of Jean le Bel, who was in England in 1327.

(3) LAURENCE MINOT, a contemporary poet, wrote a number of war-songs dealing with the events of Edward III's French war.

(4) WILLIAM LANGLAND wrote the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, an allegory which incidentally throws much light on the social conditions prevalent in the latter years of Edward III.

(5) GEOFFREY CHAUCER wrote the *Canterbury Tales* during the reign of Richard II, but he was about 37 when Edward III died, and his descriptions of contemporary characters apply equally to the latter years of that reign.

#### 1. DEATH OF ALEXANDER III

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

Alexander III was the last king of Scots in the direct male line from Malcolm Canmore, who was king at the time of the Norman Conquest. He came to the throne while Henry III was king of England. Under his rule and that of his predecessors Scotland prospered; but his death ushered in a period of storm and stress: his heiress being his youthful grand-daughter Margaret the "Maid of Norway," who followed him to the grave four years later, leaving the question of the succession undecided. The chronicler tells the story of Alexander's death.

In the course of that year Alexander, king of Scotland, was carried off by sudden death; having



reigned for thirty-six years and nine months. He departed from this world upon the nineteenth day of March being the vigil of St Cuthbert bishop and Confessor ; of whose see he and his had for three years past troubled the liberties. And since the Lord had suffered him to live, but for his chastening took away both his offspring and his wife, yet amended him not, we may perceive that in him was made perfect that prophecy of the Holy Job who saith, "God shall reserve for the sons the trouble of the father and when he hath rendered it then shall he know." Yea, it had been foretold to him by certain just men that "the Lord hath stretched forth his sword against him, he hath bent his bow and made it ready and hath made ready many arrows." Moreover through all that year there went abroad through the province a saying of the Scots that on that day should be the Day of Judgment, whereat many trembled though some mocked.

Moreover in the December next preceding, under the Sign of Capricorn, fearful thunders were heard and lightnings were seen, which in the opinion of the wise portend the fall of princes, for whose sake it is foretold, that they might take heed to themselves. Yet since all these warnings and more could not profit him to the chastening of his spirit, God punished him even through his own handiwork. For it was his wont to heed neither the season nor the weather, nor perils of waters nor stony rocks, so that by night even as if it had been day when it was his will, sometimes in changed garments, often with a single companion, he would visit with no good intent the dwelling of matrons and nuns, maidens and widows. Now on that day, when there was a very great storm, the king was in the high Maiden's castle, holding

counsel with a great number of the lords of the land concerning the answer to the messengers of the king of England ; who on the third day were to be at Norham with Thomas of Galloway in bodily presence, whose freeing from prison was then desired by the Lord John Balliol, the younger.

When they were come to dine, while they were eating and drinking, he with a cheerful countenance sent a portion of fish to one of the barons, bidding him by the squire enjoy his dinner and he should know this was the Day of Judgment. He, returning thanks, made answer merrily to the king, "If this be the Day of Judgment we shall rise with full stomachs." Now when after a long time the feasting was over and the evening was drawing on, he would not be withheld by the violence of the storm, nor would he hearken to the persuasions of others but made haste forthwith to Queen's Ferry ; being bent on visiting his bride, the daughter of the count of Drew, whom he had but lately brought from parts over-seas, whose name was Yoleta : to his own grief and the lasting woe of the state. For it is generally affirmed that before the contract she had already taken the veil in a nunnery, but had looked back, moved by feminine fickleness and the desire to be a queen.

Now as he came to a village which was hard by the ferry, there met him one of his officers who warned him of danger and urged him to go back ; whereupon the king asking whether he feared to abide with him. "Nay my lord," quoth he, "it beseems me well to meet my doom beside your father's son." He came therefore in mirk darkness to the borough of Inverkinelyn, being accompanied only by three esquires ; where, recognising his voice, there met him his fishmaster, a married

man and an inhabitant of the place. "My lord," quoth he, "what do you here at such time and in this black darkness? I have often urged you that you will have no profit of your late journeying; stay with us; we will provide you with what is needful; accept our hospitality until the morning." Then said he, laughing, "There is no need; but let me have two of your folk on foot to shew the way." So when they had gone some two miles, by reason of the darkness they could none of them in anywise recognise the way, except that the horses by natural instinct kept track of the trodden way. While they thus became separated one after the other, the esquires picking the path, the king at last, to cut short the story, was thrown from his horse and bade farewell to his kingdom, in the sleep of Sisera. So it befell him according to the proverb of Solomon, "Woe unto him that is alone, because when he hath fallen he hath none to sustain him."

## 2. THE TREATY OF NORHAM

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

Edward I of England was invited by the Scottish magnates to arbitrate between the various magnates who claimed the Scottish crown on the death of the Maid of Norway. Edward first demanded his own recognition as "suzerain" of Scotland, a title which his predecessors had habitually claimed and the Scots had regularly repudiated. Historians still differ as to which was technically in the right. The magnates however accepted Edward's conditions. The Chronicler, it must be remembered, is a north-country Englishman with a violent bias against the Scots though he is not intentionally dishonest.

Now when the Holy Pentecost was past after the feast of the Holy Trinity, when, by the citing of many and various chronicles of Scotland as well as of England

[Edward] had manifestly shewn what rights he and his ancestors possessed towards Scotland, he was accepted by universal consent of the Scottish nobles as overlord of all Scotland, homage being rendered to him by all, and the writing thereof was confirmed by the seals of all.....

In the same year for the purpose of enquiring upon whom the crown of Scotland ought by hereditary right to devolve, King Edward IV<sup>1</sup>, the son of Henry III, gave order that whosoever claimed the said kingdom by hereditary right should set forth the grounds shewing the justice of his claim.

Now there had been a certain earl of Chester whose name was Ranulph. This earl had a sister named Matilda who had been wedded to David, the brother of the king of Scotland. This Matilda bore to David one son who was called John, and three daughters; the eldest Margaret, the second Isabella and the third and youngest Aldith. Margaret was afterwards wedded to Alan the earl of Galloway, to whom the said Margaret bore one daughter named Dervorgilla, who in turn was wedded to John Balliol: whose son was the lord John Balliol who claimed and obtained the crown of Scotland because his mother's mother was the elder daughter of the Prince David, who left no male offspring surviving. Isabella the second daughter of Prince David was given in marriage to the earl of Carrick whose name was Robert the Bruce, who also claimed the crown of Scotland on account of his wife who was the second daughter of Prince David. Aldith the third and youngest daughter of the aforesaid prince was given in marriage

<sup>1</sup> Edward the Elder, Edward the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor were the three earlier Edwards.

to Henry Hasting, of whom was born John Hasting who claimed the kingdom in right of his mother. Now the aforesaid king Edward, when this was reported to him, caused to be chosen forty discreet persons of either kingdom, that is of England and of Scotland, twenty of one and twenty of the other, and gave order that they should examine the aforesaid cause and other documents and should determine which of the aforesaid claimants had the better right to the crown of Scotland. And that they might do this the better and with the more security, he gave them time to deliberate from the feast of St John the Baptist until the feast of St Michael. They then, coming together, decided that the lord John Balliol had the better right to the crown of Scotland and that he was the rightful claimant. Which when he heard, the lord Edward with the common consent of the greater and more discreet folk conferred the kingdom of Scotland upon John Balliol, who did homage to the said king at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the castle of the said town.

In the same year after Easter, Edward, king of England, held a parliament at Norham upon the state of the Scottish kingdom, in the nineteenth year of his reign, when the overlordship of Scotland was to him adjudicated and granted by common consent, by all the magnates of the said kingdom appointed for this matter.

## 3. BALLIOL'S REVOLT

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

John Balliol having been awarded the crown of Scotland, Edward enforced his own authority as suzerain. The Scots had never expected that anything beyond a formal recognition of the claim would be required, and they soon forced Balliol to resist Edward's demands.

In that same year the Scots chose twelve peers by whose advice the kingdom was to be ruled. The Scots devising craftily against their lord Edward king of England sent envoys, namely William bishop of St Andrews, and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, and John de Soulis, and Ingram de Unfraville, knights, to the king of France, to treat with the said king and kingdom against the king and kingdom of England; the said envoys seeking to stir up war, and taking with them a procurator. Now when these tidings came to the ears of the king of England, he was naturally angry; and sent to the king of Scotland repeatedly, bidding him come to his parliament as he was lawfully bound to do, both for the kingdom of Scotland and for other fiefs held in the English kingdom. But he altogether refused to come, and what is worse gathered together a great army to resist the king of England; and on Monday in Easter week, the lord John Comyn of Buchan coming into England with a Scots army, burnt houses and slew men and slaughtered cattle; and for two successive days stoutly besieged the city of Carlisle; but being defeated in that design, on the third day retreated. On hearing of this the king of England on the other side advanced his standards against the other Scots at

Berwick, and in Easter week, namely upon the thirtieth day of March, the said town was captured by the king, and the citadel thereof on the same day; on which there fell by the sword some seven thousand men.

In the octave of the apostles Peter and Paul the chief men and the prelates and the other nobles of the kingdom of Scotland gathered together and held a solemn parliament at Stirling where by the general advice it was decreed that their king should have no power to do anything of himself, but that he should have twelve peers after the French fashion; whom they thereupon elected and appointed. There also they deprived the lord Robert Bruce the younger, who had fled into England, of his father's inheritance, because he had refused to do homage to them; his son also they deprived of the earldom of Carrick with which he had been endowed, because he held by his father. Earl Warenne the father-in-law of the king of Scots with other envoys from the king of England, they dismissed indignantly without an answer; nor would they so much as suffer him to enter the fortress, though he was the king's own kinsman. They were indeed stoutly purposed to rebel, and to break the homage rendered to king Edward, counting upon the treaty which they had made with the king of France, that he with his ships and they by land should at once harass England and as they deemed should overthrow it.

## 4. THE INSURRECTION OF WILLIAM WALLACE

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

Edward brought Scotland to subjection by force of arms, but left the country under a lieutenant while he occupied himself with a French quarrel. William Wallace led a guerilla warfare against the English and succeeded in driving them out of the country. Edward returned and again conquered the country, and Wallace never recovered his own ascendancy. At a later stage he was betrayed to the English and put to death.

Scarce six months were passed since the solemn oath aforesaid whereby the Scots had bound themselves to fealty and submission to the king of England, when the renewed malice of traitors sharpened their wits to new guile. For the head of the church of Glasgow, who by his own surname is called Robert Wishart, being ever the leader in treachery, together with the Seneschal by name James, designed a new deed of insolence and a new title to destruction. Not daring openly to break the promise made the king, they caused a certain man of blood, one William Wallace, who had before been a captain of bandits in Scotland, to rise up against the king and gather the people together to aid him. About the nativity of the Glorious Virgin, they began to shew themselves and to make war; against whom when a great English army had been gathered together, the Seneschal said craftily, "There is no need to trouble so great a host for the sake of one knave; send with me a few chosen men, and I will render him to you dead or alive."

But when they had done so and had dismissed great part of the army, the Seneschal led them to the bridge of Stirling; where on the other side of the water





The Wallace Monument, Abbey Craig, Stirling

was gathered the Scottish army ; who suffered so many of the English as they hoped to overthrow to cross over the bridge, and when the bridge itself was blocked slew all who had passed over. Among whom fell the English treasurer Hugh Cressingham ; of whose skin from head to heel William Wallace caused a broad strip to be taken that therefrom he might make a sword-belt for himself. Earl Warenne however hardly made his escape with a few companions, so fiercely did his enemies pursue after him.

Thereafter the Scots victoriously entered the town of Berwick and slew the few English whom they found there ; for at that time the town was not walled, and therefore was easily taken whether by English or Scots, coming in force. Yet for that time the citadel of the town was not surrendered. After this the Scots in a body entered Northumberland and ravaged the whole land, burning and robbing and slaying, and came almost to the town of Newcastle ; but they turned aside thence and entered the county of Carlisle ; and there they did even as in Northumberland, destroying everything, and afterwards they went back to Northumberland for the more complete wasting of what they had before passed by ; and on the feast of St Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr, they returned to Scotland, yet all this time were not able to capture any castle either in England or in Scotland.

Before Quadragesima of that year, the earls and barons of England made ready for war against the Scots while the king was yet absent in Gascony, and came upon them altogether by surprise by the castle of Roxburgh which some few of them were then besieging. But when they heard of the English coming they fled

forthwith ; the earls however waited some while at Roxburgh and then departed together to Berwick and took that town. But after the earls had withdrawn from Roxburgh, the Scots came by night and fired the town, and in like manner the town of Haddington, and nearly all the good towns on this side the Scottish sea, that the English might find no harbourage in Scotland. But the English army for lack of supplies was quickly compelled to retreat into England, save some few whom they left to hold the town of Berwick.

But the Scots hearing of their sudden and unlooked for retreat, after Easter set upon those castles in Scotland which were held by the English, and besieged them with all their forces ; and for the lack of food in the castles got possession of them all except Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick and a few others ; and although when the castles were surrendered they promised the English their lives and limbs and safe passage to their own country, William Wallace did not keep faith with them.

Meanwhile truce was made between the king of France and the king of England, and the king returned to England ; and understanding in what manner the Scots had risen up during his absence, he gathered an army and turned his steps towards Scotland, and when he had entered the land marched through a part of it. On the feast of the blessed Mary Magdalene the Scots met him at Falkirk with all their force, having for their captain that William Wallace aforementioned ; trusting chiefly after their manner in the spearmen who were set on foot in the front rank. But the mailed horsemen of England who formed the greatest part of the army encircling them on all sides overthrew them, and when all the Scottish horsemen fled there were

slain of the spearmen and footmen who stood and fought stoutly sixty thousand: according to others eighty thousand and according to others a hundred thousand; nor was there a single nobleman of the English slain except the Master of the Templars with some five or six men-at-arms who too boldly and rashly broke into the phalanx of the Scots.

## 5. THE RISING OF ROBERT BRUCE

[*Laurecest Chronicle*]

After the death of Wallace, the Scottish throne being vacant, Robert Bruce, whose hereditary title to the crown stood next to that of the Balliols, began his career as the liberator of Scotland from English domination. Edward marched against him, but died before he could cross the border.

William Wallace was captured by means of a Scot, namely the lord John Menteith and was brought to London by the king, and was condemned to be drawn, hanged, beheaded, disembowelled and quartered, and to have his entrails burnt; which was done. And his head was set upon London Bridge, and the right arm on the bridge of Newcastle-on-Tyne, the left arm at Berwick, the right leg at St John's town [Perth], and the left leg at Aberdeen.

In the same year on the tenth day of February upon the feast of St Scholastica the lord Robert Bruce earl of Carrick seditiously and treacherously sent to the lord John Comyn to come and have speech with him at the Friars Minors of Dumfries, and when he had come he slew him in the Church of the Friars, and his uncle the lord Robert Comyn; and thereafter he seized the castles of Scotland and their garrisons and upon the

Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin next following was made king of Scotland at Scone ; and many of all ranks joined him. Which when the king of England had heard he sent horsemen and footmen to Carlisle and to Berwick to guard the marches. But because they of Galloway would not join in the sedition of the aforesaid Robert, their lands were by him laid waste, and one of the principal men of Galloway he pursued and besieged in a lake : but they of the garrison of Carlisle raised the siege, and he having burnt the machines and the boats that he had made for the siege took to flight. But they of the garrison of Berwick at whose head was the lord Aymer de Valence entered into Scotland and received into the peace of the king of England some who before through fear, had joined in the insurrection of the lord Robert. But him they drove beyond the Scottish sea, and there close to St John's town, which otherwise is called Perth, they joined battle with him and slew many of his companions and at last put him to flight.

Meantime however the king of England gathered an army and sent the lord Edward his son, whom at that time he had knighted at London, and with him three hundred others, and the earl of Lincoln, by whose counsel the said lord Edward should act in all things, to pursue the said Robert Bruce who had caused himself to be called King. They then entered Scotland ; and received many into peace, and proceeding to the furthest confines of Scotland where the said Robert might be found, did not indeed find him but received all the castles by the strong hand. But those who had been in the aforesaid conspiracy counsel and alliance to make him king, they hanged ; and the more notable of them they caused to be

dragged at the heels of horses first, and thereafter hanged them : among whom were Christopher Seaton an Englishman who had married the sister of the said Robert, and John and Humphrey, brothers of the said Christopher, and many others with them. But the lord Simon Fraser, a Scot, was taken to London, was drawn and thereafter hanged and thirdly was beheaded, and his head was set upon London Bridge next to the head of William Wallace. But the bishop of St Andrews whom the king of England had made guardian of Scotland, who had entered upon compact of friendship with the said Robert, as was proved by the discovery of letters of his own, together with the bishop of Glasgow who had been his chief confederate therein, and the abbot of Scone who had supported the said Robert in taking upon himself the honours of royalty, they brought to England and cast into prison. Meanwhile, however, Robert Bruce lay in hiding in the remote islands of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the stern vengeance taken upon the Scots who fostered the cause of the said Robert Bruce, the number was increased day by day of those who sought to confirm him in the kingdom. Wherefore the king of England bade all the magnates of England who owed him service that they together with the foot soldiers of Wales should be at Carlisle on the fifth day after the Nativity of St John the Baptist. But alas ! in the meantime, on the feast of the Translation of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr, at Burgh-upon-Sands, which is distant from Carlisle to the northward three miles, died that famous and excellent king, who all his days was a man courageous and warlike, in all things vigorous and renowned, the lord Edward the son of

king Henry ; in the thirty-sixth year of his reign and the sixty-seventh of his age ; leaving not his like for wisdom and valour among all Christian princes : who is reported before his death to have prayed to the Lord saying, "Have mercy upon me Almighty God, even as in truth I have worshipped none other save Thee the Lord my God."

## 6. BANNOCKBURN

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

After the death of Edward I, Bruce gradually won back Scotland from the English whose garrisons were overcome, one by one. Edward II was meanwhile engaged in quarrels with his baronage. But when Stirling was the only stronghold remaining in English hands, he led an immense force into Scotland to crush Bruce. His expedition resulted in the overwhelming disaster of Bannockburn, which secured the liberty of Scotland.

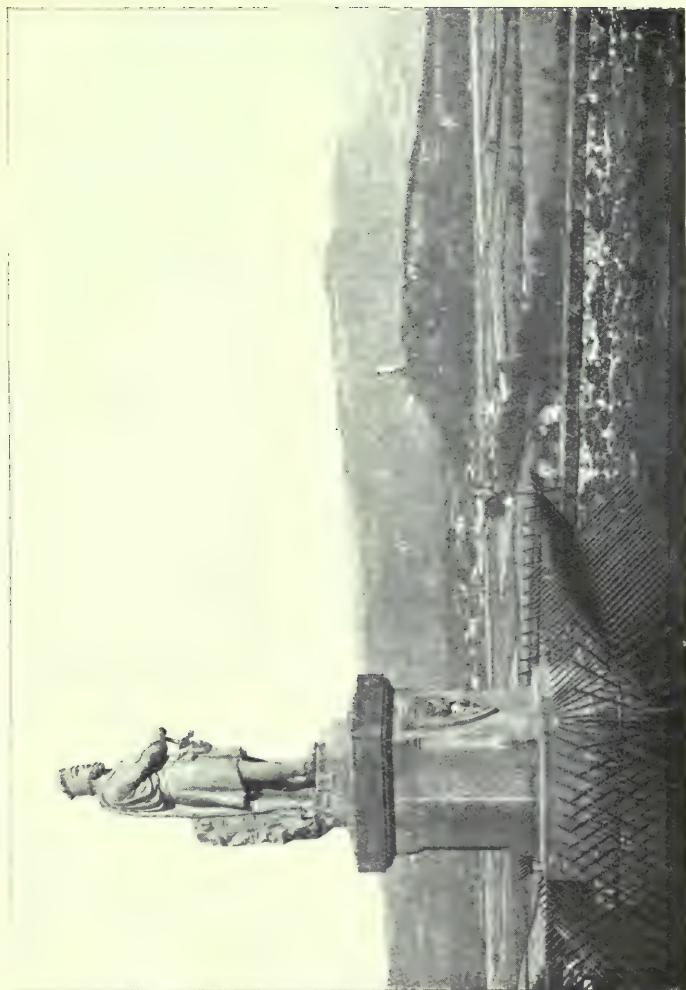
On the day following the octave of Easter, Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert, entered England hard by Carlisle with an army, contrary to treaty ; and abode there three days successively upon the manor of the bishop, namely Rose, and sent a great part of his army to burn on all sides towards the southern and western parts during those three days. And they burnt many towns and two churches and carried off captive both men and women, and seized the flocks in the forest of Inglewood and elsewhere, and thereafter withdrew ; but they slew few men, save those who chose to resist.

But towards the Feast of Pentecost the king of England came to the border of Scotland with the earls of Gloucester and Hereford and Pembroke, and many other barons and knights, and a most splendid and mighty army, had the Lord been upon their side. But

the earl of Lancaster, and the other English earls who were of his party, and their followers, upon the terms of service which they owed to the king and his wars, abode at home : because the king would still not come to agreement with them, nor fulfil the promises he had before made. But whereas the noble Edward his father upon going to war in Scotland was wont upon his way to visit the shrines of the English saints Thomas of Canterbury, Edmund, Hugh, William and Cuthbert, and to make offerings to them and commend himself to their prayers, and to bestow charitable gifts upon monasteries and for the poor : he did none of these things, but coming with great pomp and circumstance, he took the goods of monasteries upon his march, and in other sort, as was told, did and said things prejudicial and injurious to the saints : for which reasons with others, small wonder is it that he and his army were put to confusion and eternal shame as had been prophesied by sundry religious men of England.

So before the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, having gathered his whole army together, the king with pomp aforesaid drew near to the castle of Stirling, to raise the siege and to fight with the Scots who were there gathered in their full strength ; and upon the eve of the aforesaid Nativity, after dinner the king's army came near to the wood of Methven. And having heard that the Scots were in the wood, the king's vanguard, whose captain was the lord Clifford, would have surrounded the wood had not the Scots escaped them by flight. But the Scots suffered them to do this until they had been enticed far from their comrades ; whereupon they shewed themselves, and, dividing the king's vanguard from the centre and the rear, charged





**The Bruce Statue, Stirling**  
*(The Wallace Monument is seen in the distance)*

and slew some of them and turned others to flight ; and from that hour fear fell upon the English, and the courage of the Scots was increased.

But upon the morrow which was an evil day for the English, a day of woe and disaster, when both sides were making ready for the battle, the English archers advanced in front of their lines and the Scottish archers came to meet them ; and on either side were some wounded and some slain : but the archers of the king of England quickly put the others to rout. But when the two armies had drawn much nearer all the Scots fell upon their knees, and said the Paternoster and commended themselves to God and prayed for the aid of heaven ; which done they advanced against the English boldly. Now they had so ordered their army that two of their battles went in front of the third, one on the right hand and one on the left so that neither was in advance of the other : and the third followed in which was king Robert. But when the two armies joined battle and the great war horses of the English charged upon the Scottish spears, as upon a thick wood, there arose a great and fearful noise of breaking of lances and of horses wounded to death, and so for a time there was pause made. But the English from behind could not reach to the Scots because of the front line which was between them, nor could help themselves in any way ; wherefore nothing was left them but to take order for flight. Of that rout I have been told by one who may be trusted, who was himself present and saw it. But in that first line there fell the earl of Gloucester, and the lord Robert Clifford, the lord John Comyn and many other noblemen, to say nothing of the footmen who fell in great numbers. Moreover another misfortune befell

the English because a short time before, having crossed a great dyke, into which the sea flows, which is called Bannockburn, and being desirous of returning when they were already put to rout, many nobles and others in that press fell into it with their horses, and some with great difficulty escaped, and many were never able to withdraw themselves from that dyke, and therefore for many a year thereafter Englishmen talked of Bannockburn.

## 7. BOROUGHBIDGE

[*Lanercost Chronicle*]

The chief of the English barons who were in opposition to Edward II was his cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the lord of five earldoms. On the same side were the "Marchers," the lords whose domains were on the Welsh marches. Their hostility was directed to a great extent against Edward's favourites, the Despencers. In 1322 however there was a royalist rally, and Lancaster was overthrown at Boroughbridge, and afterwards executed.

In that same year in the summer, the earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, the lord John de Mowbray, the lord Roger de Clifford and many other barons, knights and men-at-arms and with them a great company of horsemen and footmen entered the Welsh march; and quickly and without resistance took and held several castles of the lord Hugh Despenser the younger; who was as it were the right eye of the king of England and, after the death of Piers Gaveston, his chief confederate against the earls and barons. They spoiled the said castles of the treasure and other goods that were in them, and set garrisons in them of their own men; they seized even upon the king's castles in those parts; but they set about the king's banner and

standard in them, saying that they were doing all these things not against the crown, but on behalf of the crown and the law of the kingdom of England : but all these things were done by design and order of the earl of Lancaster. But the earls and barons were moved especially against the said lord Hugh because he had taken to wife one of three sisters between whom had been divided the earldom of Gloucester ; and he being of exceeding greediness, by various subtle methods tried to seize for himself alone the lands and estates of the others ; and he so sought occasion against those who had married the other two sisters, that he thereby united the whole earldom against him.

In this manner seizing the castles of the said Hugh, and day by day prevailing more and more against the king, in the autumn following they as it were compelled the king to hold a parliament in London and to yield to their will in all matters ; in which parliament the lord Hugh Despenser the younger was banished with his father and his son for ever and their goods were confiscated.....

But after some time had passed the king by the zeal of those who were of his party drew to his side the citizens of London and others of the south, as well earls as barons and knights, by great gifts and promises, and recalled the two exiles aforesaid, and received them into his peace and had the same publicly proclaimed in London. Which being made known, the party of the earl of Lancaster besieged the king's castle of Tykehil with a great army ; and thus was begun open war in England, and their enmities were made manifest. So there was gathered together the whole strength of the king's party south of the Trent to the number of sixteen

thousand men, at Burton-on-Trent; against whom came in the second week of Quadragesima about the feast of the Forty Holy Martyrs, the earl of Lancaster and the earl of Hereford, who was the husband of the king's sister, with barons and knights, and horsemen and archers beside; but the earl's party quickly fell into confusion, and withdrew from the king's army, and hastened to Pontefract, where the earl stayed with his company. But the king with his army made after them slowly, with no great slaughter of the partisans whether of the earl or of the king. But although the earl intended to await the king there and defy him, by the advice of those who were with him he withdrew his army towards the north.

When the news of their approach came to the sheriff of Carlisle, the lord Andrew de Hareclay, a knight of valour and renown, he, thinking that they wished to enter Scotland and to call the Scots to their aid against the king of England, by commission and writ of the king summoned the knights and men-at-arms and other stout soldiers of the two counties, Cumberland and Westmoreland to wit, who were able to join the war, to come under the strictest penalties to the aid of the king against the said earl. But when the said lord Andrew upon his way to join the king had passed the night with his small company at the town of Ripon, he learnt from a scout that the earl with his army would come upon the town of Boroughbridge which is not more than four miles distant from Ripon. Marching therefore by night he was before the earl, and seized the bridge of Boroughbridge, and sending to the rear his own horses and those of his men, he set all the knights on foot with sundry spearmen on the north side of the bridge; and

over against the ford or passage through the stream he arrayed other spearmen in a scheltrum<sup>1</sup> after the manner of the Scots, to resist the horsemen and horses wherein the enemy trusted. But the archers he ordered to shoot thick and fast upon the foe as they came on. And so upon the sixteenth day of March, being the third Sunday of Quadragesima, came the said earls with their army; and seeing that the lord Andrew had seized the north part of the bridge, they took order that the earl of Hereford and lord Roger de Clifford, a mighty man who had taken his daughter to wife, should advance with their company on foot and seize the bridge against the spearmen who stood there; and that the lord earl of Lancaster with the rest of the mounted force, should set on at the ford and carry the stream and the crossing next to the bridge above the spearmen, and should scatter them and slay those who withstood them.

But it fell out otherwise. For the earl of Hereford, preceded by his standard bearer, to wit the lord Radulph of Applinsdene, and lord Roger de Clifford, and a certain knight, boldly like lions rode on to the bridge before their company; and when they charged fiercely upon the adversary, spears were thrust into the earl upon all sides, and he fell and was slain upon the bridge, with his standard bearer and the said knight, to wit the lord William Sule, and the lord Roger Berfelde; but the lord Roger de Clifford being sore wounded with spears and arrows and driven back, scarce made his escape with some others. But the earl's horsemen who would have crossed the stream could not so much as enter it for the hail of darts which the archers shot

<sup>1</sup> A solid mass or phalanx.

upon them and their horses. This matter being thus suddenly brought to an end, the earl of Lancaster and his men drew back from the stream nor dared approach it nearer ; and so the whole array was beaten back. The earl therefore sent messengers to the lord Andrew and asked for a truce until the morning, when he would either fight or surrender to him. And Andrew consented to the desire of the earl ; yet all that day and all that night he held his men at the bridge and at the ford in readiness for battle.

That night the men of the earl of Hereford dispersed and fled, because their lord had been slain ; the men also of the earl of Lancaster and of lord de Clifford and of the rest deserted them. Therefore when the morrow came, the earl of Lancaster surrendered to the lord Andrew, and so did the lord de Clifford and the lord de Mowbray, and all the rest who had remained with them. He then carried them to York as captives, and there they were held prisoners in the castle, awaiting in that place the will of the lord king. The king therefore greatly rejoicing at their taking sent for the earl to Pontefract, where he was now abiding in the same earl's castle ; and there in revenge for the death of Piers Gaveston—whom the earls had caused to be beheaded—on the advice of the earl's rivals, and especially of the lord Hugh Despenser the younger, without parliament and without holding any larger or wiser council, he pronounced sentence that he should there be drawn, hanged and beheaded ; but because he was the queen's uncle and the son of the king's uncle, the two first sentences were remitted ; in such wise that he was neither drawn nor hanged, but beheaded only, even as the said earl Thomas had caused Piers Gaveston to be

beheaded. Another sufficient cause however was pretended and alleged, to wit, that he had made war upon the king of England in his kingdom; but those who best knew the king's mind declared that for that cause the earl would never have been beheaded without delay and the consultation of parliament, nor would have been so evilly treated, but set in prison for life or sent into exile, had it not been for another cause of greater account.

So this man of the highest birth, as was said, one of the most noble and richest earls in Christendom, even one who held five earldoms, to wit, Lancaster, Lincoln, Salisbury, Leicester and Ferrars, was taken outside the town, and like the meanest robber or ruffian was beheaded upon a little hill, upon the morrow of the day of the holy abbot Benedict, in Quadragesima; where now, on account of the miracles which God is said to work by him, pilgrims come together and a chapel has been built. Also in the same township were drawn and hanged the lord Garin de Lisle, a baron of the king and three knights with him. But the said lord Andrew, for his services and for his valour was made earl of Carlisle.

### 8. A SCOTS FORAY

[FROISSART]

Throughout the reign of Edward II, and especially after Bannockburn, the Scots constantly raided the northern English counties. Their methods are described below.

The Englishmen could hear no tidings of the Scots till they were come to the entry of the said country. The Scots were passed this river so privily, that they of



Carlisle nor yet of Newcastle knew nothing thereof, for between the said towns it was XXIII. English miles. These Scottish men are right hardy, and sore travelling in harness and in wars; for when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host XXIII. miles, for they are all on horseback, without it be the traundals and ladders of the host who follow after, afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through, in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread or wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass in the journey a great long time, with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine: and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts [cattle] in the country that they will pass through. Therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse: between the saddle and the pommel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal: and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a craknell, or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel, though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about

as they went, and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of III.M men of arms, knights and squires, mounted on good horses, and other X.M. men of war armed after their guise, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes. They had two good captains, for king Robert of Scotland who in his days had been hardy and prudent, was as then of great age, and sore grieved with the great sickness; but he had made one of his captains a gentle prince, and a valiant in arms, called the earl of Morrell [Moray], bearing in his arms silver three oreylles gules, and the other was the lord William [James] Douglas, who was reputed for the most hardy knight, and greatest adventurer in all the realm of Scotland, and he bare azure a cheff silver. These two lords were renowned as chief in all deeds of arms, and great prowess in all Scotland.

## 9. BATTLE OF CRESSY

[FROISSART]

Edward III went to war with France in 1338; nominally to assert his title to the French crown. After several campaigns in which nothing of importance was accomplished, a truce was followed by an English invasion. Edward marched almost to Paris, but then retreated towards the friendly territory of Flanders. A great French army overtook him, but was shattered at the battle of Cressy in 1346.

The Englishmen who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, they rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste, and arranged their battles: the first, which was the prince's battle, the archers there

stood in manner of a hearse [harrow] and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton, and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were. The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some after, in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed; and he said to his marshals, "Make the Genoese go on before, and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis." There were of the Genoese cross-bows about a fifteen thousand; but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their crossbows, that they said to their constables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms, we have more need of rest." These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said, "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season fell a great rain and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows, for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyes and on the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoese were assembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen; but they stood still and strayed not for all that. Then the Genoese again the second time made another leap and fell cry, and stepped forwards a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot. Thirdly

again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot: then they shot fiercely with their crossbows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace, and let fly their arrows so wholly and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their crossbows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said, "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and kill a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw thickest place: the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese, and when they were down, they could not rally again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires: whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners. The valiant king of Bohemia, called Charles of Luxemburg, son of the noble emperor Henry of Luxemburg, for all that he was near blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him, "Where is the lord Charles my son?" His men said, "Sir, we can not tell, we think he be fighting." Then he said, "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions, and friends in this journey, I require you bring me so far forward, that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the

intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. The lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who wrote himself king of Almaine, and bare the arms, he came in good order to the battle: but



The Battle of Cressy

when he saw that the matter went awry on their party, he departed I can not tell you which way. The king his father was so far forward, that he struck a stroke with his sword, yea and more than four, and fought valiantly and so did his company: and they adventured themselves so forward, that they were there all slain,

and, the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other. The earl of Alençon came to the battle right ordinally and fought with the Englishmen ; and the earl of Flanders also on his part ; these two lords with their companies coasted the English archers, and came to the prince's battle and fought valiantly long. The French king would fain have come thither when he saw their banners, but there was a great hedge of archers before him. The same day the French king had given a great black courser to Sir John of Hainault, and he made the lord John of Fussels to ride on him, and to bear his banner. The same horse took the bridle in his teeth, and brought him through the crowds of the Englishmen, and as he would have returned again, he fell in a great dyke and was sore hurt, and had been there dead, if his page had not been ; who followed him through all the battles and saw where his master lay in the dyke, and had none other let but for his horse, for the Englishmen would not issue out of their battle, for taking of any prisoner ; then the page alighted and relieved his master ; then he went not back again the same way that they had come, there were too many in his way. This battle between Broy and Cressy this Saturday was right cruel and fell, and many a feat of arms done that came not to my knowledge. In the night divers knights and squires lost their masters, and sometimes came on the Englishmen, who received them in such wise, that they were even nigh slain ; for there was none taken to mercy nor to ransom, for so the Englishmen were determined. In the morning of the day of the battle certain Frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the prince's battle, and came and fought with the men of arms hand

to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle; the which was time, for they had as then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king, who was on a little windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king, "Sir, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Oxford, Sir Reynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled, wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado. Then the king said, "Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth fell?" "No sir," quoth the kinght, "but he is hardly matched, wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him, and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will that this journey be his and the honours thereof, and to them that be about him." Then the knight returned again to them, and shewed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them, and they repented that they had sent to the king as they did. Sir Godfrey of Harcourt would gladly that the earl of Harcourt his brother might have been saved; for he heard say by them that saw his banner, how that he was there in the field on the French party, but Sir Godfrey could not come to him betimes, for he was slain ere he could come at him, and so was also the earl of Aumale, his nephew. In another place, the earl of Alençon, and the earl of Flanders, fought valiantly, every lord under his own banner; but finally they could not resist against the

pursuance of the Englishmen, and so there they were also slain, and divers other knights and squires. Also the earl Lewis of Blois, nephew to the French king, and the Duke of Lorraine fought under their banners, but at last they were closed in among a company of Englishmen and Welshmen, and there were slain, for all their powers. Also there was slain the earl of Ausser, the earl of Saint Pol and many others.

In the evening the French king, who had left about no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once the king, for his horse was slain with an arrow ; then he said to the king, "Sir, depart hence, for it is time ; lose not yourself wilfully ; if ye have loss at this time, ye shall recover it again another season." And so he took the king's horse by the bridle, and led him away in a manner perforce. Then the king rode till he came to the castle of Broy. The gate was closed, because it was by that time dark ; then the king called the captain, who came to the walls and said, "Who is it that calleth there this time of night ?" Then the king said, "Open your gate quickly, for this is the Fortune of France." The captain knew that it was the king, and opened the gate, and let down the bridge ; then the king entered, and he had with him but five barons, Sir John of Hainault, Sir Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Bayeux, the lord of Daubigny, and the lord of Montfort. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight, and so rode by such guides as knew the country, till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested. This Saturday, the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever



defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

## 10. THE SURRENDER OF CALAIS

[FROISSART]

In the year after Cressy, Edward compelled Calais to surrender, and the town remained in English hands for a little more than two centuries.

After that the French king was thus departed from Sandgate, they within Calais saw well how their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain Sir John of Vien, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host. When the king heard thereof, he sent thither Sir Gaultier of Manny and Sir Basset: then Sir John of Vien said to them, "Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the king my master hath sent me and other to this town, and commanded us to keep it to his behalf, in such wise that we take no blame nor to him no damage; and we have done all that lieth in our power. Now our succour hath failed us, and we be so sore strained that we have not to live withal but that we must all die or else enrage for famine, without the noble and gentle king of yours will take mercy on us: the which to do we require you to desire him, to have pity on us and let us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods therein the which is great abundance." Then Sir Gaultier of Manny said, "Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the king our master for he hath shewn it to us; surely know for truth it is not his mind that ye nor they within the town

should depart so, for it is his will that ye all should put yourselves into his pure will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him and to put to death such as he list : for they of Calais hath done him such contraries and disputes, and hath caused him to spend so much and to lose so many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them." Then the captain said, "Sir, this is too hard a matter to us ; we are here within, a small sort of knights and squires, who have truly served the king our master as well as ye serve yours in like case, and we have endured much pain and uneasiness ; but we shall yet endure as much pain as ever knights did rather than to consent that the worst lad in the town should have any more evil than the greatest of us all ; therefore, sir, we pray you that of your humility, yet that ye will go and speak to the king of England and desire him to have pity on us, for we trust in him so much gentleness, that by the grace of God his purpose shall change." Sir Gaultier of Manny and Sir Basset returned to the king and declared to him all that had been said. The king said he would none otherwise but that they should yield them up simply to his pleasure. Then Sir Gaultier said, "Sir, saving your displeasure in this, ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil example : if ye send any of us your servants into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go if ye put any of them in the town to death after they be yielded, for in likewise they will deal with us if the case fall like" : the which words divers other lords that were there present sustained and maintained. Then the king said, "Sirs, I will not be alone against you all ; therefore, Sir Gaultier of Manny, ye shall go and say to the captain that all the grace that he shall find now in

me is that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come out barcheaded, barefooted and barelegged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themselves purely to my will, and the residue I will take to mercy." Then Sir Gaultier returned and found Sir John of Vien still on the wall abiding for an answer ; then Sir Gaultier shewed him all the grace that he could get of the king. "Well," quoth Sir John, "Sir, I require you tarry here a certain space till I go into the town and shew this to the commons of the town who sent me thither." Then Sir John went into the market place and sounded the common bell. Then incontinent men and women assembled there ; then the captain made report of all that he had done, and said, "Sirs, it will be none otherwise ; therefore now take advice and make short answer." Then all the people began to weep and make much sorrow, that there was not so hard a heart if they had seen them but that would have had great pity of them ; the captain himself wept piteously. At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace of Saint Pierre, rose up and said openly, "Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, either by famine or otherwise, when there is a means to save them : I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that must keep them from such mischief ; as for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, that God would pardon me ; wherefore, to save them, I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy." When he had thus said, every man worshipped him, and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore

sighs. Then another honest burgess rose and said, "I will keep company with my gossip Eustace" ; he was called John Dayre. Then rose up Jacques of Wyssant, who was rich in goods and heritage : he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins ; in likewise so did Peter of Wyssant his brother : and then rose two others : they said they would the same. Then they went and apparelled them as the king desired. Then the captain went with them to the gate : there was great lamentation made of men, women and children at their departing : then the gate was opened and he issued out with the vi burgesses and closed the gate again, so that they were between the gate and the barriers. Then he said to Sir Gaultier of Manny, "Sir, I deliver here to you as captain of Calais, by the whole consent of all the people of the town, these six burgesses : and I swear to you truly that they be and were today most honourable, rich and most notable burgesses of all the town of Calais : wherefore, gentle knight I require you pray the king to have mercy on them, that they die not." Quoth, Sir Gaultier, "I cannot say what the king will do but I shall do for them the best I can." Then the barriers were opened, the six burgesses went towards the king, and the captain entered again into the town. When Sir Gaultier presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down and held up their hands and said, "Gentle king, behold here we six who were burgesses of Calais and great merchants : we have brought to you the keys of the town and the castle and we submit ourselves clearly to your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain. Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high

nobleness": then all the earls and barons, and other that were there, wept for pity. The king looked fell on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais, for the great damages and displeasures they had done for him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf. Then Sir Gaultier of Manny said, "Ah! noble king, for God's sake, refrain your courage; ye have the name of sovereign noblesse, therefore now do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor to give cause to some to speak of your villainy; every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such innocent persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company." Then the king wryed away from him and commanded to send for the hangman, and said, "They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in likewise." Then the queen, being great with child, kneeled down and sore weeping, said, "Oh gentle sir, since I passed the sea in great peril I have desired nothing of you; therefore now I humbly require you, in the honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary and for the love of me, that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses." The king beheld the queen and stood still in a study a space, and then said, "Oh dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place, ye make such a request to me that I cannot deny you; wherefore I give them to you, to do your pleasure with them." Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure; and then she gave each of them six nobles and made

them to be brought out of the host in safeguard and set at their liberty.

## 11. BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS

[LAURENCE MINOT]

About the time of the battle of Cressy, David Bruce, son of Robert, and king of Scotland, invaded the north of England as an ally of the French. At Neville's Cross, he was overthrown and taken prisoner.

Sir David the Bruse  
 Was at distance,  
 When Edward the Baliolfe  
 Rade with his lance ;  
 The north of England  
 Teched him to daunce,  
 When he was met on the more  
 With mekill mischance.  
 Sir Philip the Valayse  
 May him nocht avance ;  
 The flowres that faire war  
 Er<sup>1</sup> fallen in Fraunce.  
 The floures er now fallen  
 That fers war and fell ;  
 A bare with his bataille  
 Has done tham to dwell.  
 Sir David the Bruse  
 Said he suld fonde  
 To ride thurgh all England,  
 Wald he nocht wonde ;  
 At the Westminster hall  
 Suld his stedes stonde,

<sup>1</sup> are.

While oure king Edward  
War out of the londe.  
But now has Sir David  
Missed of his merkes,  
And Philip the Valays,  
With all thaire grete clerkes.

Sir Philip the Valais,  
Suth for to say,  
Sent unto Sir David  
And faire gan him pray,  
At ride thurgh Inland  
Thaire fomen to flay,  
And said, none es at home  
To let hym the way.  
None letes him the way,  
To wende where he will ;  
Bot with schiperd<sup>1</sup> staves  
Fand he his fill.

From Philip the Valais  
Was Sir David sent,  
All Inland to win  
From Twede unto Trent.  
He broght mani bere-bag  
With bow redy bent ;  
Thai robbed and thai reved  
And held that thai hent.  
It was in the waniand  
That thai furth went ;  
Fro covaitise of cataile  
Tho schrewes war schent.

<sup>1</sup> shepherd.

*Battle of Neville's Cross*

Schent war tho schrewes,  
 And ailed unsele ;  
 For at the Nevil Cross  
 Nedes bud tham knele.  
  
 At the ersbisschop of York  
 Now will I bigyn.  
 For he may with his right hand  
 Assoyl us of syn  
 Both Dorem and Carlele  
 Thai wald nevir blin  
 The wirschip of England  
 With wappen to win.  
 Mekill wirschip thai wan,  
 And wele have thai waken ;  
 For Syr David the Bruse  
 Was in that tyme taken.  
  
 When Sir David the Bruse  
 Satt on his stede,  
 He said of all England  
 Haved he no drede.  
 Bot hinde John of Coupland,  
 A wight man in wede,  
 Talked to David,  
 And kend him his crede.  
 Thare was Sir David  
 So dughty in his dede,  
 The faire toure of Londen  
 Haved he to mede.  
  
 Sone than was Sir David  
 Broght unto the toure,  
 And William the Dowglas,  
 With men of honowre.



Full swith redy servis  
Fand thai thare a schowre ;  
For first thai drank of the swete,  
And senin of the sowre.  
Than Sir David the Bruse  
Makes his mone,  
The faire coroun of Scotland  
Have he forgone.  
He loked furth in France,  
Help had he none  
Of Sir Philip the Valais,  
Ne yit of Sir John.

## 12. THE TREATY OF BRETIGNY

[FROISSART]

A truce after the fall of Calais ceded the duchy of Aquitaine to Edward. War broke out again, and the Black Prince won the brilliant victory of Poitiers, taking the French king prisoner. France continued a struggle which seemed desperate, but at last in 1360 Edward accepted the terms of the treaty of Bretigny.

The intention of the king of England was to enter into the country of Beausse, and so to draw along the river of Loire, and so all that summer to abide in Bretagne, till after August ; and then at the winter to return again into France, and to lay siege to Paris, for he would not return home again into England, till he had France again at his pleasure. And he left his men in garrisons to make war in France, in Champagne, in Poictou, in Pontheiu, in Vimeu, and in Vexin and in Normandy, and in all the realm of France, and in the good towns and cities, such as took part with their own good wills. All this season the duke of Normandy was at Paris, and his two brothers, and the duke of Orleans

their uncle and their counsellors ; they imagined well the courage of the king of England, and how that he and his men brought the realm of France into great poverty, and saw well how the realm of France could not long endure in that case, for the rents of the lords and of the churches were nigh lost in every part. As then there was a sage and a discreet person chancellor of France, called sir William of Montague bishop of Terouanne by whose counsel much of France was ruled, and good cause why ; for ever his counsel was good and true, and with him there were two other clerks of great prudence, the abbot of Clugny, and the master of the Friars Preachers, called Simon Langres, a master in divinity. These two clerks at the desire of the duke of Normandy, and of the whole council of France, departed from Paris with certain articles of peace, and sir Hugh of Geneve lord of Anthon in their company. And they went to the king of England, who rode in Beausse towards La Voise ; these two clerks and two knights spake with the king, and began to fall in treaty for a peace, to be had of him and his allies ; to the which treaty the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of March were called. This treaty was not as then concluded, for it was long a-driving, and always the king went forward ; these ambassadors would not leave the king but still sued and followed on their purpose, for they saw how the French king was in so poor estate, that the realm was likely to be in a great jeopardy, if the king continued a summer longer. And on the other side, the king of England required so great things, and so prejudicial to the realm of France, that the lords would not agree thereto for their honours, so that all their treaty, the which endured seventeen days, still following the king, they sent ever

their process daily to the duke of Normandy, to the city of Paris, ever desiring to have again answer what they should do further ; the which process was secretly and sufficiently examined in the regent's chamber at Paris, and answer was sent again by writing to them what they should do, and what they should offer. And so these ambassadors were oftentimes with the king, as he went forward toward the city of Chartres, as in other places, and great offers they made to come to a conclusion of the war, and to have a peace ; to the which offers the king of England was hardhearted to agree to, for his intention was to be king of France, and to die in that estate. For if the duke of Lancaster, his cousin, had not counselled him to that peace, he would not have agreed thereunto ; but he said to the king, "Sir, this war that ye make in the realm of France is right marvellous, and right favourable to you ; your men win great riches, and ye lose your time, all things considered ; ere ye come to your intent ye may hope to make war all the days of your life. Sir, I would counsel you, since ye may leave the war to your honour and profit, accept the offers that have been made to you, for sir, you might lose more in a day, than we have won in twenty years." Such fair and subtle words that the duke of Lancaster said in good intention, and for wealth of the king, and all his subjects, converted the king by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who was chief worker in that case. For on a day as the king was before Chartres, there fell a case that greatly humbled the king's courage ; for while these ambassadors were treating for this peace, and had none agreeable answer, there fell suddenly such a tempest of thunder, lightning, rain and hail, in the king's host, that it seemed that the world should have ended ; there fell from

heaven such great stones that it slew men and horses, so that the most hardiest was abashed. Then the king of England beheld the church of our Lady of Chartres, and avowed devoutly to our lady to agree to the peace, and as it was said, he was then confessed, and lodged in a village near Chartres, called Bretigny: and there were made certain compositions of peace, upon certain articles after ordained; and the more firmly to be concluded by these ambassadors, and by the king of England and his council, there was ordained, by good deliberation and advice, a letter, called the charter of the peace.

### 13. (i) ILL-DOINGS OF THE STRONG

[LANGLAND: *Piers Plowman's Vision*, PASSUS IV]

These passages describe the condition of the peasantry in the latter years of Edward III.

And thanne com Pees into parlement,  
 And putte forth a bille,  
 How Wrong ayiens his wille  
 Hadde his wif taken.

. . . . .  
 "Bothe my gees and my grys<sup>1</sup>  
 Hise gadelynges<sup>2</sup> feeceheth,  
 I dar nought for fere of hem  
 Fighte ne chide.  
 He borwed of me Bayard,  
 He broughte hym hom nevere,  
 Ne no ferthyng therfore,

<sup>1</sup> pigs.

<sup>2</sup> knaves.

For ought I koude plede.  
 He maynteneth hise men  
 To murthere myne hewen<sup>1</sup>,  
 Forstalleth my feires<sup>2</sup>,  
 And fighteth in my chepyng,  
 And breketh up my bernes dore,  
 And bereth away my whete,  
 And taketh me but a taille<sup>3</sup>  
 For ten quarters of otes ;  
 And yet he beteth me therto.

. . . . .  
 I am noght hardy for hym  
 Unnethe<sup>4</sup> to loke.”

(ii) PURVEYORS

[*Piers Plowman* : Passus III]

Maires and Maceres  
 That menes ben bitwene  
 The kyng and the comune  
 To kepe the lawes,  
 To punysshe on pillories  
 And pynynge-stooles,  
 Brewesters and baksters,  
 Bochiers and cokes,  
 For thise are men on this molde<sup>5</sup>  
 That moost harm wercheth  
 To the povere peple  
 That percel-mele<sup>6</sup> buggen<sup>7</sup> ;  
 For thei enpoisone the peple  
 Pryveliche and ofte,

<sup>1</sup> workmen.      <sup>2</sup> marketing.      <sup>3</sup> tally.      <sup>4</sup> scarcely.  
<sup>5</sup> earth.      <sup>6</sup> picce-meal.      <sup>7</sup> buy.

Thei richen thorough regratrie<sup>1</sup>,  
 And rentes hem biggen<sup>2</sup>,  
 With that the povere peple  
 Sholde putte in hire wombe.  
 For toke thei on trewly  
 Thei tymbred<sup>3</sup> nought so heighe,  
 Ne boughte none burgages<sup>4</sup>,  
 Be ye ful certeyne.

## (iii) THE FARE OF THE LABOURER

[*Piers Plowman*: Passus VI]

“I have no peny,” quod Piers,  
 “Pulettes to bugge,  
 Ne neither gees ne gryns,  
 But two grene cheses,  
 A fewe cruddes and creme,  
 And an haver<sup>5</sup> cake,  
 And two loves of benes and bran  
 Y-bake for my fauntes<sup>6</sup>;  
 And yet I seye, by my soule!  
 I have no salt bacon,  
 Ne no cokenei, by Crist!  
 Coloppes for to maken.

“Ac I have percile<sup>7</sup> and porettes<sup>8</sup>,  
 And manye cole plauntes<sup>9</sup>,  
 And ek a cow and a calf,  
 And a cart mare  
 To draw a-field my donge,  
 The while the droghte lasteth;

<sup>1</sup> grow rich by regrating.<sup>2</sup> buy.<sup>3</sup> build.<sup>4</sup> town-holdings.<sup>5</sup> oat.<sup>6</sup> children.<sup>7</sup> parsley.<sup>8</sup> leeks.<sup>9</sup> cabbage.



Ploughing

And by this liflode<sup>1</sup> we mote lyve  
 Til lammesse<sup>2</sup> tyme.  
 And by that, I hope to have  
 Harvest in my crofte,  
 And thanne may I dighte thi dyner,  
 As me deere liketh.”

Al the povere peple tho  
 Pescoddes fetten,  
 Benes and baken apples  
 Thei broghte in hir lappes,  
 Chibolles<sup>3</sup> and chervelles,  
 And ripe chiries manye,  
 And profrede Piers this present  
 To plese with Hunger.

Al Hunger eet in haste,  
 And axed for moore.  
 Thanne povere folk, for fere,  
 Fedden Hunger yerne<sup>4</sup>,  
 With grene poret and pesen,  
 To poisonne hym thei thoghte.  
 By that it neghed neer hervest,  
 And newe corn cam to chepyng ;  
 Thanne was folk fayn,  
 And fedde Hunger with the beste,  
 With goode ale, as Gloton<sup>5</sup> taghte,  
 And garte<sup>6</sup> Hunger to slepe.

And tho<sup>7</sup> wolde Wastour nocht werche,  
 And wandren aboute,  
 Ne no beggere ete breed  
 That benes inne were,

<sup>1</sup> livelihood.

<sup>2</sup> Lammas (loaf-mass, Aug. 1st).

<sup>3</sup> leeks.

<sup>4</sup> eagerly.

<sup>5</sup> gluttony.

<sup>6</sup> caused.

<sup>7</sup> then.



But of coket and cler-matyn<sup>1</sup>,  
Or ellis of clene whete ;  
Ne noon halfpeny ale  
In none wise drynke,  
But of the beste and of the bruneste  
That in burghe is to selle.  
Laborers that have no land  
To lyve on but hire handes,  
Deyned noght to dyne a day  
Nyght-olde wortes<sup>2</sup> ;  
May no peny ale hem paye,  
Ne no pece of bacone,  
But if it be fresshe flessch outhur fische,  
Fryed outhur y-bake,  
And that *chaud* and *plus chaud*,  
For chillynge of hir mawe ;  
And but if he be heighliche hyred ;  
Ellis wole he chide,  
And that he was werkman wrought  
Waille the tyme,  
Ayeins Catons counseil  
Comseth he to jangle.  
*Paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.*  
*He greveth hym ageyn God.*

<sup>1</sup> white bread.

<sup>2</sup> vegetables.

## 14. KNIGHT, PARSON, AND PLOUGHMAN

[CHAUCER: *Canterbury Tales*]

Chaucer describes three typical characters which bring out the best side of the social system in the second half of the fourteenth century, as Langland brings out its ugliest side.

A knight there was, and that a worthy man,  
 That fro the tyme that he first bigan  
 To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,  
 Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.  
 Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,  
 And therto hadde he ridden (no man ferre)  
 As wel in Christendom as Hethenesse,  
 And ever honoured for his worthiness,  
 At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne ;  
 Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne<sup>1</sup>  
 Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.  
 In Lettow hadde he reysed<sup>2</sup> and in Ruce,  
 No Cristen man so ofte of his degree.  
 In Gernade at the sege eek hadde he be  
 Of Algezir, and riden in Belmarye.  
 At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye,  
 Whan they were wonne ; and in the Grete See  
 At many a noble aryve<sup>3</sup> hadde he be.  
 At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene,  
 And foughten for our feith at Tramissene  
 In listes thryes, and ay slayn his fo.  
 This ilke worthy knight had been also  
 Sometyme with the lord of Palatye,  
 Ageyn another hethen in Turkye :  
 And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.  
 And though that he were worthy he was wys

<sup>1</sup> passed.<sup>2</sup> warred.<sup>3</sup> landing.

And of his port as meke as is a mayde.  
He never yet no vileinye ne sayde  
In al his lyf, unto no maner wight.  
He was a verray parfit gentil knight.



The Knight

But for to tellen yow of his array,  
His hors were gode, but he was nat gay.  
Of fustian he wered a gipoun  
Al bismotered<sup>1</sup> with his habergeoun;

<sup>1</sup> stained.

For he was late y-come from his fiage,

And wente for to doon his pilgrimage.

A good man was ther of religioun,  
 And was a povre Persoun of a toun<sup>1</sup>;  
 But riche he was of holy thought and werk.  
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,  
 That Cristes Gospel trewely wolde preche;



The Parson

His parissheis devoutly wolde he teche.  
 Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,  
 And in adversitee ful pacient;  
 And swich he was y-proved ofte sythes<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ful looth were him to cursen for his tythes,  
 But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute,  
 Unto his povre parissheis aboute  
 Of his offring, and eek of his substance,  
 He coude in litel thing han suffisaunce.  
 Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder,  
 But he ne lafte nat, for reyn ne thonder,

<sup>1</sup> village.

<sup>2</sup> times.

In siknes nor in meschief, to visyte  
The ferreste in his parisshe, mucche and lyte<sup>1</sup>,  
Upon his feet and in his hand a staf.  
This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,  
That first he wroghte, and afterward he taughte;  
Out of this gospel he tho wordes caughte;  
And this figure he added eek therto,  
That if gold ruste, what shal iren do?  
For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,  
No wonder is a lewed man to ruste;  
And shame it is, if a preest take keep,  
A shiten<sup>2</sup> shepherde and a clene sheep.  
Wel oghte a preest ensample for to yive,  
By his clenness, how that his sheep shold live.  
He sette nat his benefice to hyre,  
And leet his sheep encombred in the myre,  
And ran to London, unto seynt Poules,  
To seken him a chaunterie for soules,  
Or with a bretherhed to been withholde;  
But dwelte at hoom, and kepte wel his folde,  
So that the wolf ne made it nat miscarie;  
He was a shepherde and no mercenarie.  
And though he holy were, and vertuous,  
He was to sinful man nat despitous,  
Ne of his speche daungerous ne digne<sup>3</sup>,  
But in his teching discreet and benigne.  
To drawen folk to heven by fairnesse  
By good ensample, was his bisnesse:  
But it were any persone obstinat,  
What-so he were, of heigh or lowe estat,  
Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones.  
A bettre preest, I trowe that nowher noon is.

<sup>1</sup> small.<sup>2</sup> dirty.<sup>3</sup> scornful.

He wayted after no pompe and reverence,  
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,  
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,  
He taughte, and first he folwed it himselve.

With him ther was a Plowman, was his brother,  
That hadde y-lad of dong ful many a fother<sup>1</sup>,  
A trewe swinker and a good was he,  
Livinge in pees and parfit charitee,  
God loved he best with al his hole herte  
At alle tymes, thogh him gamed or smerte,  
And thanne his neighebour right as himselve.  
He wolde thresshe, and therto dyke and delve,  
For Cristes sake, for every povre wight,  
Withouten hyre, if it lay in his might.  
His tythes payed he ful faire and wel,  
Both of his proper swink and his catel<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> load.

<sup>2</sup> Both in labour and goods.

## CHAPTER V

### RICHARD II—RICHARD III

#### AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) FROISSART: see Chapter IV.
- (2) THOMAS WALSHINGHAM wrote a *Historia Anglicana* from 1272 to 1422. The part before 1377 is a compilation; the remainder is contemporary history. Walsingham, like Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, was the official annalist of St Albans.
- (3) *A Libell of Englyshe Policye*: an anonymous poem written in 1436 which throws light on the state of English commerce.
- (4) PHILIPPE DE COMINES, c. 1445–1509, was in the service first of Philip and Charles of Burgundy and then of Louis XI of France. His wide diplomatic experience, his knowledge of Courts, and the range of his political information, made his *Memoirs* an invaluable source for the history of the Yorkist period.
- (5) SIR THOMAS MORE, 1478–1535, spent a part of his boyhood in the household of archbishop Morton to whom he was indebted for his account of events which took place during his own childhood but in which Morton himself was a prominent actor. More himself took an active part in public life, and was Chancellor after the fall of Wolsey.

#### 1. HOW THE SCOTS SURPRISED BERWICK (1377)

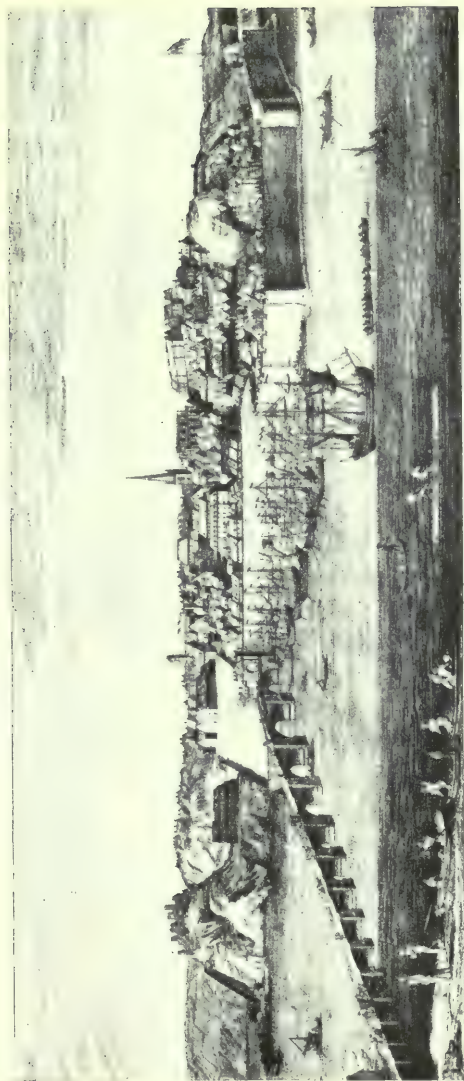
[FROISSART]

Unofficial warfare went on constantly on the borders of England and Scotland. This section describes a Scottish attempt to recapture Berwick, which at the time of Edward III's death was held by the English.

In so much, so it happened that king Robert of Scotland, the same season that king Edward the third

was dead, and king Richard crowned, he assembled his council at Edinburgh in Scotland, whereas were the most part of all the barons and knights of Scotland, and of other such as he thought should do him service ; shewing them how Englishmen in time past had done them many great inconveniences, as in burning of their countries, beating down their castles, slaying and ransoming their men ; saying also, “Sirs, now is the time come that we may well be revenged, for now there is but a young king in England, for king Edward is dead who was wont to have so good fortune.” Then the barons and young knights that were there, such as desired to be revenged of the damage done to them by the Englishmen, answered all with one voice, how they were all ready appavelled to ride into England, an it were the same day or the next, or when it pleased him. This answer pleased greatly the king of Scots, and he thanked them all : and there the king ordained four earls, to be as chief captains of all the men of war, and that was the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar, and the earl of Sutherland, and the constable of Scotland, Sir Archibald Douglas, and the marshal of the host, sir Robert Erskine. And so they made their summons to be at a certain day at Morlaine. And in the making of this assembly, there departed from them a valiant squire of Scotland, called Alexander Ramsey, who thought to enterprise to achieve a great feat of arms, and took with him forty well mounted, and rode so long by night privily, that by the day in the morning he came to Berwick, which was English ; and captain of the town was a squire of the earl of Northumberland named William Byset, and in the castle was captain a valiant knight, called sir Robert Abenton. When





**Berwick-upon-Tweed**  
*(As re-fortified by Elizabeth)*

the Scots were come to Berwick, they kept themselves private, and sent a spy to the town and to the castle, to see in what condition it was. The spy entered down into the dykes, where there was no water, nor none could abide there, for it was all a quick boiling sand, and so the spy looked and hearkened all about, but he could neither hear nor see any creature, and so he returned and shewed all that to his master. Then Alexander Ramsey advanced forth, and brought all his company privily into the dykes, and had with them ladders, and so dressed them up to the walls. Alexander was one of the first that mounted up with his sword in his hand, and so entered into the castle, and all his company followed him, for there was none that withstood them. And when they were all within, then they went to the chief tower, whereas the captain was asleep, and so there suddenly with great axes they broke up the door. The captain suddenly awoke ; and had slept all night, and had made but small watch, the which he dearly bought ; and so opened his chamber door, weening to him the noise had been made by some of his own soldiers that would have robbed or murdered him in his bed, because he had displeased them the week before ; and so leapt out of a window down in to the dykes in great fear, without order or good advice, so that with the fall he brake his neck and there he died. The watchmen were half asleep, and heard the noise and woke, and perceived well how the castle was scaled and betrayed, and so sounded a trumpet Trahey, Trahey. William Byset, captain of the town, hearing the voice of a trumpet, armed him, and caused all them of the town to be armed, and so drew all before the castle, and heard well the noise that the Scots made within, but they could

not enter in, for the gate was shut and the bridge drawn. Then the captain, William Bysset, remembered him of a great device, and said to them of the town that were about him : “ Let us break down the stays of the bridge on this side, and then they within cannot issue without our danger.” Incontinent with axes they beat down the bridge and stays thereof towards the town ; and then William Bysset sent a messenger to Alnwick a XII little miles thence, to the lord Percy, certifying him of all the matter, desiring him to come without delay with some great puissance, to rescue again the castle of Berwick, so taken by stealth by the Scots. And moreover William Bysset said to Thomas Fryant, who was the messenger, “ Shew to my lord in what case ye leave us, and how the Scots are closed within the castle, and cannot issue out without they leap the walls, and therefore desire him to make the more haste.” Alexander Ramsey and his company, who had thus scaled the castle of Berwick, and thought they had done a great enterprise, and so they had done indeed, an William Bysset had not provided a sudden remedy, for else they had been also lords of the town ; and so slew of them within the castle whom it pleased them, and the residue they took prisoners, and shut them up fast in a tower. Then they said, “ Now let us go down into the town, for it is ours, and let us take all the good therein, and the rich men of the town, and bring them all into this castle, and then set fire on the town, for it is not to be kept by us. And within three or four days we shall have rescue out of Scotland, so that we shall save all our pillage, and at our departing let us set fire in the castle, and so pay our host.” To which purpose they all agreed, for they desired all to win some pillage ; and so they took each

of them a glaive in their hands, they found enow in the castle, and so opened the gate and let down the bridge, and when the bridge was down, the ropes that held it brake asunder, for the resting place of the bridge was broken away toward the town. And when William Byset saw the manner of them, then he and all his company began to shout and cry, and said, "Ah, sirs, keep you there: Ye shall not depart thence without our leave." And when Alexander Ramsey saw the manner of them without, then he saw and knew well how they were advised of his being in the castle, and so closed again the gate for fear of being shot, and fortified the castle, thinking to have kept it, and did cast out into the dykes all the dead men, and put up into a tower all their prisoners. They thought the place was strong enough to keep long, or at least till some rescue might come to them out of Scotland, for the barons and knights of Scotland were assembling together at Morlaine and thereabout; and also the earl Douglas was departed from Dalkeith, and was come to Dunbar.

## 2. RICHARD II AND WAT TYLER

[THOMAS WALSHINGHAM]

Four years after the accession of the boy-king Richard II, the peasantry broke out in a great revolt; mainly in Kent and the counties on the north and east of London. The occasion was the levying of a poll-tax which had to be paid by every adult; the real cause lay in the grievances of the whole peasant class but especially of those who were "villeins," bound to render services to the lords of the soil, and forbidden to leave the particular "manor" to which they were attached.

The next day being the sabbath, the day of the saints Vitus and Modestus the Kentishmen relaxed

little of the evil work of the previous day ; but they abstained from killing, from breaking down houses and from burning them. Now the king sent to the Kentishmen to tell them that their comrades had withdrawn, and would live peaceably in the future, and offering to grant them the same terms. Then their principal leader, called Walter Helier or Tyler (for such were the names which they took for themselves), a skilled workman, and of considerable abilities if he had chosen to turn his powers to good use, said that he embraced peace, provided conditions were laid down according to his own will. He required that the king and the king's council (since they deemed that of the more weight) should suspend their futile deliberations until the morrow that he might on that night carry out his own perverse designs the more freely. For during that night since all the poor folk of the community, that is of the city of London, were on their side, he thought to have sacked the city, having first slain the king and his principal adherents, and to have set it alight in four places and burnt it down. But God which resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble suffered not those impious imaginations and intents to be fulfilled, but graciously and suddenly brought his evil counsel to naught. For when three successive proposals were drawn up in writing, in a form to be set forth later, and none of them had satisfied him, the king at last sent to him a knight named John Newton to summon rather than invite him, since his arrogance was understood, to meet the king and treat with him concerning the articles which he insisted on embodying in the Charter ; of which I name but one in this chronicle, that readers may see how manifestly

unreasonable the rest would be. For he demanded for himself and his company a commission to execute all judges, escheators, and all persons learned in the law or officially connected with the law. It is credibly asserted that with supreme arrogance, on the day before these things happened, he set his hand to his lips and declared that before four days all the law of England should come from his mouth and his lips.

So when Sir John Newton urged him to haste he replied indignantly ; " If thou art in such haste get thee back to thy king. I will come when I will." After the knight had returned, he also followed on horseback, but more leisurely. And when he had come not far from the place where the king had taken his stand, which is called Smithfield, the said knight was despatched to him a second time to hear and report his demand. The knight approached him seated on his charger to hear what he would say. But he, angry that the knight had approached him on horseback and not on foot, said wrathfully that he ought to come into his presence on foot rather than on horseback. But the knight, not altogether forgetful of his knightly honour, made answer ; " There is no harm in my coming to you on horseback since you are mounted yourself." Whereupon the ruffian drew his knife, called a " dagger " in common parlance, and threatened to strike him, at the same time calling the said knight a traitor. Enraged at the epithet, the knight hotly declared that he lied and drew his knife in like manner. The knave who would not bear to be insulted in the midst of his rustic followers was about to fall upon the knight. The king therefore, seeing the danger which threatened the knight, in order to quiet the rogue, bade the knight dismount

and the knave return his dagger to its sheath. And since the man's insolent spirit could not thus be checked, but he would have fallen furiously upon the knight howsoever he could, there gathered to the king the mayor of London William Walworth and many of the king's knights and men-at-arms who were standing by, and declared that it would be an unspeakable and everlasting reproach if in their presence the king suffered a noble knight to perish shamefully before his eyes. Therefore they said they should make haste to succour him and seize the knave. Whereupon the king, though he was but a boy of tender years, took courage and bade the mayor of London seize him. Then the mayor, a man of incomparable courage and boldness, without hesitation seized and smote him on the head, striking him senseless; whereupon his body was thrust through in many places by the swords of the king's servants who surrounded him.

But when the people saw his fall, they cried out in anger at his death; "Our captain is slain; our leader has been traitorously murdered; let us stand together and die with him, let us shoot and manfully avenge his death." Then they bent their bows and made ready to shoot. But the king with a ready wit beyond his years, and with a great courage, set spurs to his horse and rode up to them, and riding among them called out; "What is this my men? What are you doing; Will you shoot your king? Grieve not for the death of a traitorous knave. I am your king your captain and your leader; follow me to the fields, and you shall have all that you demand." This the king did, lest the rustics in their wrath should set fire to the houses in Smithfield where they were when their leader the aforesaid traitor

was slain. So they followed the king and the knights that were with him into the open fields, not having yet made up their minds whether they should slay the king or should go home peaceably with the royal charter.

### 3. HOTSPUR'S REBELLION

[THOMAS WALSINGHAM]

Henry IV deposed Richard II and made himself king largely by the help which the Percy family gave him. The Percies took offence at the treatment they received, and leagued with Owen Glendower, who had already made himself an almost independent prince in Wales, to overthrow Henry. The king intercepted Hotspur's force at Shrewsbury, and broke up the rebellion (1403). The "Henry" of the narrative is always Henry Percy, (Hotspur), eldest son of the earl of Northumberland.

At that same time the lord Henry Percy the younger, hitherto a favourite of fortune, and on whom were placed the hopes of the whole people, suddenly appeared as an enemy of the king. Contrary to universal expectation he was joined by lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester and uncle of the aforesaid Henry. Suddenly leaving the dwelling of the prince, the king's eldest son, whom the king had especially committed to his charge, he betook himself to his nephew, increasing his strength and his determination to revolt. To give colour to their conspiracy they sent letters abroad, setting forth that their design was in no way contrary to their allegiance and fealty to the king, and that they had gathered an army for no other cause than the protection of their own persons and the better government of the state. For the tallages granted to the king for the safeguarding of the kingdom were converted as they said to improper



uses, and unprofitably wasted. Moreover they complained that the king's anger was stirred up against them by reason of the base slanders of their rivals, so that they dared not come in person into his presence until the prelates and barons of the king had petitioned on their behalf that they might be permitted to declare their innocence before the king and justify themselves lawfully by their peers. Many therefore who saw these letters, praised the wisdom of these men and applauded the loyalty they were shewing to the state. But the king perceiving their deceitfulness meditated anxiously how he might satisfy the public and make an end of their fabrications. He wrote therefore to the persons to whom they had written saying that he was greatly astonished, since the earl of Northumberland and Henry his son had received the greater part of the money granted him by the clergy and parliament of England for the protection of the Scottish marches, so that he could clearly shew the basis of what was not merely a complaint but a manifest slander. He wrote further, because he had understood that the earl of Northumberland, his son, and the earl of Worcester likewise, had affirmed to many that they dare not enter the king's presence on account of the slanders of their rivals, without the previous mediation of the prelates and nobles ; wherefore they prayed that of the king's grace they might come and defend themselves and prove their own innocence : for this reason he wrote to the same earl and the rest under the king's seal that they may come safely and without harm and depart without risk or guile. But their unbridled audacity, scorning the royal mildness, urged them to open rebellion and hurried them to Shrewsbury, trusting it is supposed in

the help of Glendower and Edmund Mortimer and certain of the people of Chester and of Wales. But when the king saw that the young man's heart was hardened, for the father had not left his own domains, he resolved to make haste and meet Henry [Percy] and his uncle the lord Thomas Percy before they had gathered a greater force. They indeed and their accomplices had caused it to be published abroad that king Richard was alive and with them, in whose name or cause they had levied war against the king. If they wished to see him forthwith, let them come in arms and with their own eyes see the said king in the camp at Chester. Fraudulent though the story was it caused excitement in the minds of many and made large numbers hesitate, not knowing to which party it would be safer to adhere. Many indeed were inclined to king Richard, especially those who had once been of his household, and had been endowed with fiefs and other gifts by him. King Henry carefully heeding the above and being a brave man and a valiant, gathered together whom he could; being urged on especially by the Scottish earl of Dunbar who warned him not to delay. The king took the Scot's advice and arrived unexpectedly in those parts where the rebels were disporting themselves. But Henry [Percy] suddenly seeing the royal standard when he was on the point of assaulting the town of Shrewsbury, abstained from attacking the inhabitants. "We must abstain," he said, "from our intention and turn our arms against those who are coming against us. There is the royal standard; make your stand then stoutly, since this day will uplift us all if we are victorious and will free us from the king's rule if we be vanquished. For it is better to fall in battle for the

state than to perish after battle by the sentence of our foe." To this Henry's followers agreed forthwith, to the number of fourteen thousand picked men who declared that they would fight to the last breath with Henry.

Now when on either side the soldiers were awaiting the signal for battle, the abbot of Shrewsbury and a certain clerk came as messengers from the king to offer Henry [Percy] peace and pardon if he gave up his designs. Henry being mollified by their persuasions sent back with them to the king Thomas Percy his uncle, to set forth the grounds for the rising and demand effective remedies. It is said that when the king had given way and submitted so far as became the person of the king the said lord Thomas Percy returning to his nephew gave a report which was contrary to the king's answer, enraged the young man, and urged him on to battle against his desire.

Thereupon Henry's bowmen began the battle ; there was no room for the arrows to reach the ground, but every arrow struck a body, and they fell on the king's side like withered leaves in winter after a frost ; nor less did the king's archers do their own work but sent a stinging shower of darts upon their foes. Many fell on either side as apples in autumn, shaken by the south wind ; many also fled from the field thinking that the king was slain with arrows. Henry himself, the leader of the field on the other side, and his companion Douglas the Scot (never were more valorous men than they) paid no heed to the arrows sent from the king's side, or to the solid wedges of men-at-arms, but wielded their might only against the person of the king, turned their arms against him, searched for him only, counting him worth ten thousand prostrate foes,

seeking for him with hostile spears and swords. When the earl of Dunbar perceived their design, he withdrew the king from his post. Whereby the king's life was saved for that time, since his standard bearer was cut down, the standard itself overthrown, and its guards slain. Among whom fell the earl of Stafford and the lord Walter Blount, one of the king's knights.

The prince, also, the king's firstborn son, who then for the first time saw a pitched field, was wounded in the face by an arrow. Meanwhile lord Henry Percy, far before his followers in the fight, rashly thrusting among his enemies fell unexpectedly, the hand that stayed him being unknown; and when they learnt this the soldiers of the other side took to flight, so many as had the opportunity of fleeing. But the earl of Douglas was taken; for the second time in one year, fighting against the English, and ever finding fortune adverse. For in the first war a wound in the head bereft him of an eye, and in the second he was sorely wounded and a second time passed under the yoke of captivity. There were taken also the earl of Worcester Thomas Percy, the source of the whole trouble as is said, and the cause of the present disaster; together with Richard Vernon and many others. On the king's part there fell ten knights and many gentlemen and common folk, and some three thousand were sorely wounded. On the side of the rebels fell the greater number of the knights and gentlemen of the county of Chester to the number of two hundred besides squires and foot soldiers whose number we cannot record. This battle was fought on the eve of St Mary Magdalene nor was there ever a fight more keenly contested, as it is thought. On the Monday following, for the battle was fought upon a

Sunday, there were beheaded by judicial sentence at Shrewsbury, the earl of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and lord Richard Vernon. Also on the Monday following while the earl of Northumberland with a strong hand and with a stretched out arm was hastening towards his own son, or towards the king, as thinking to renew negotiations for peace, his advance was stayed by the earl of Westmoreland and Robert Walton. They having collected a large army arrayed themselves to meet him. But he counting that neither of them was his well-wisher drew bridle and returned to his own castle of Warkworth.

#### 4. AGINCOURT

[THOMAS WALSHINGHAM]

Henry V invaded France and captured Harfleur. His force being insufficient to undertake the task of conquest, he chose to march through Normandy from Harfleur to Calais. Like Edward III at Cressy, he was intercepted by an immensely larger French force, at Agincourt, where he won a victory even more astonishing than that of Cressy.

The king of England having arranged matters at Harfleur as befitted a king and a victor, resolved to take his way by land to Calais with a small force; not more as it is said than eight thousand archers and men-at-arms, many of whom were suffering from illness caught at Harfleur. Astonishing it is that with this little band he dared to enter the thick forest of the French but even more astonishing that he pierced through it and the obstacles by which it was guarded. The whole of the time that Harfleur was being besieged, the French had been collecting together from their own

lands and from the lands round about all the stoutest and bravest soldiers, and gathered allies from every side, so that their numbers swelled as it is reported to a hundred and forty thousand fighting men. They then had appointed the day, the season, and the hour when they might attack the king and his feeble folk, worn as they were with hunger, flux, and fever. And when the king had ridden twice through the kingdom of France and the enemy had removed all supplies, before he pitched his camp there was want of bread in the army; insomuch that many had nuts to eat for bread and the drink of the poorer sort in the army was water for the space almost of eighteen days. These were the luxuries, the viands on which the warriors of the king of England were nourished, who were about to meet with so many thousand men of might. Moreover worn as they were with marching, weary with watching, weakened with the cold by night, the wonder is that they were alive. But He that hath willed the destruction of the strong by the weak gave courage to the weary and vigour to the exhausted. When the king not without difficulty had made his way across the impeding streams, since the French had destroyed the bridges which might have shortened the march, they hastened in a body to stop the way by which it was necessary to pass to Calais. On the twenty fourth day of the month of October they halted at a certain town. Yet the king undaunted, persisted on the march which he had undertaken and advanced so far that the two armies encamped for the night within a mile of each other.

Very different was the outward show of the two armies; the French refreshed and full of meat, the

English weary, weak and worn with lack of food and wanting even water. Yet on the following day must the English fight and meet the whole nobility of France hand to hand. Wherefore they passed that night, with scanty sleep, taking less heed to comforting their bodies than to strengthening of their souls by prayer and confession. The Frenchmen had indeed boasted that they would spare none except the lords and the king himself; the rest they would slaughter without pity, or would mutilate past curing. Wherefore our people the more zealously roused up their courage and heartened each other against whatever might befall. Wherefore

Scarce had the dawn's rays touched the mountain's brow,  
When through the camp the trumpets bray rang out,

and our men hastened to their leaders' presence, doubly ready to challenge battle by the stoutness of their courage and the purity of their conscience. The king seeing how zealously his men assembled led his forces into a field recently sown with wheat, where it was hard enough to stand or to advance from the slipperiness and the softness of the ground. Nor when it was full day were the French slow to advance their first line into the same field; stout soldiers decked in glittering armour, horsemen on right and left advancing on horses nobly bred,

With golden trappings hanging to their breasts,  
Decked all in gold and champing bits of gold.

Nevertheless the French had no mind to advance far into that field by reason of its slipperiness, but desired to see what was the intention of the English whose fewness they held in utter contempt. Between the two columns lay open ground to the space of about a mile.

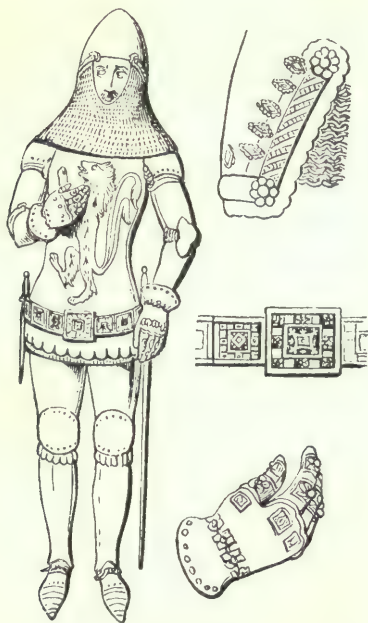
But the two armies did not advance with a like movement, since the French at first held their ground without moving, whereas if the English would join battle with the enemy they must cross the space between on foot in their armour. Meantime the king perceiving the stratagem of the French, in that they remained motionless in one spot lest they should wear themselves out by marching across a muddy field,

High on his warhorse rode the ranks before,  
Urged on the chiefs, and heartened them to war.

“My loyal comrades,” quoth he, “the field to which we come shews us a deed of high emprise, the crown of our labours. This is the day for which your valour has often cried, therefore shew forth all your might. Prove you what spear and axe, sword and arrow, may do in the hands of the valiant. He that desires wealth and honour and rewards, there shall he find it.” Therewith he bade give the signal for battle. “The injurious foe,” quoth he, “seeks to stay our march; let us fall upon them in the name of the Trinity and in the happiest hour of the whole year.” Then with standards raised he bade his men advance in order, the archers going before on the right and left. But they looking upon those who the day before had vowed them to death or mutilation, fired with indignation and wrong forgot all weariness, all trouble and weakness; black bile swelled within them, and rage lent to them strength and courage. He who but lately had not strength to bend a weak bow now without difficulty could draw the strongest. The French seeing our men with extreme toil making passage of the field, thinking that now the moment was come to fall upon an exhausted foe whom they thought it a small matter to make captive, charged furiously



upon the field, led by the knights who with their mail-clad chargers should overwhelm our archers and trample them beneath their horses' hoofs. But by the will of God it fell not as they hoped ; for the archers on either side advancing to meet the horsemen let fly such a cloud of arrows that their hail scattered the horsemen



Armour as worn at Agincourt

at the first. For God so guided it that no man's hand failed, no dart flew but dealt its wound, never right hand paused in its shooting, but every dart went home and every stroke dealt death. When therefore first the chargers were pierced with the steel, the riders turned their bridles and fled headlong back to their own ranks,

and all the horsemen who escaped hastened from the field. And so when the ranks came together the loud shouting of our men rang to the stars and all the wide heaven was filled with the clamour. Again on all sides flew the cloud of darts, and the steel clashed, while arrows ceaselessly flying smote upon helmets and breastplates and corselets. Of the Frenchmen the more part fell pierced through with arrows by fifties and sixties. The king himself, playing the part of a knight rather than a king, was first to charge upon the foe, to deal and to receive cruel blows, giving a stout example of valour in his own person to his followers, scattering the opposing ranks with his axe. Likewise the knights in rivalry of the king's own deeds strove together with all their strength to break down with hard steel the opposing wood of Frenchmen, until at length the way was cloven through and the French not yielded but fell slain. And in truth the French when they saw laid low in fight those whom they averred to be invincible, were altogether astonished, and through all their limbs ran chill quaking so that they stood motionless and senseless while our men wrenched the axes from their hands and hewed them down therewith like cattle. There was no measure to the slaying; what followed was not a battle but a slaughter; the English had not strength to cut down such numbers as on the other side were ready for destruction. So perished almost the whole glory of France by the hands of those few whom so short a time before they had held in utter contempt. There were slain the dukes of Alençon, of Brabant, and of Bar, five earls, the constable of France and other lords of name to the number almost of a hundred. Of knights and gentlemen four thousand and

sixty nine are said to have been slain. As for the common folk their numbers were not counted. On the king's side fell Edward duke of York, Michael earl of Suffolk, four knights and a gentleman named David Gam, and of the common people twenty-eight. While the king and his men were engaged in the battle in hand to hand fight with the great host of the French, a rabble of the French coming on the rear seized the unprotected baggage and carried it off. And when therein they found the king's crown they were filled with glee and began to dance and sing *Te Deum*. For they pretended that the king was taken. But after a little when they had learnt the truth of the matter from a messenger of disaster, their triumph was turned into mourning and their joy into sorrow. But the king ascribing all these happy events to God, rendered infinite thanks to Him who granted him unlooked for victory and subdued his fiercest foes. That night then he passed in the same spot, and on the morrow being the Sabbath day he continued his journey towards Calais.

5. FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMAND OF  
THE SEA[*A Libell of Englyshe Policye*]

The foreign trade of England developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Our author protests against the injurious foreign commodities whereby England was being corrupted; and he also dwells vigorously on the vital importance for England of securing and maintaining command of the sea.

THE COMMODITEES AND NICETEEES OF VENECIANS  
AND FLORENTINES WITH HER GALEES

The greet galees of Venice and Florence  
 Be wel laden with thinges of complacence,  
 Al spicerye and of groceres ware  
 With swete wines al manere of chaffare  
 Apes and japes and marmusettes tailed,  
 Nifles, trifles that litel have availed  
 And thinges with which they fetely blere our eye,  
 With thinges not enduring that we bye.  
 For moche of this chaffar that is wastable  
 Might be forborn for dere and disceivable,  
 And that I wene, as for infirmitees  
 In our England arn such commoditees  
 Withouten help of any other londe  
 Which by witte and practike beth yfonde.  
 That al humoures mighte be voided sure;  
 Which that we gedre with our English cure  
 That we shulde have no need to skamonye  
 Turbit, euforbe, correct, diagreddie,  
 Rubarb, senee, and yet they ben to needful.  
 But there, I know, ben thinges also speedful  
 That growen here, as these thinges said;  
 Let of this mater no man be dismayd,

But that a man may voide infirmitie  
Without thees drugges fet fro beyond the see.  
And yif ther shulde except be ony thing  
It were but sugre, trust to my saying.  
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,  
Let him better serchen experience.  
In this matere I wol not ferther prese;  
Who so not leveth let him leve and cese.  
Thus these galees for this liking ware  
And eting waar beer hens our best chaffare,  
Cloth wolle and tin, which, as I said before.  
Out of this land werst mighte ben forborne,  
For eech other land of necessitee  
Have grete need to by some of the three  
And we receive of hem into this coste.  
Ware and chaffar that lightly wol be loste.  
And wolde Jhesu that our lordes wolde  
Consideren this wel both yonge and olde;  
Namely olde, that have experience,  
That mighte the yonge exhorten to prudence  
What harme, what hurt and what hinderance  
Is don to us unto our greet grevaunce,  
Of such londes and of such nacions?  
As expert men know by probacions.  
By writing ar discovered our sonsailes  
And fals colour allayes the countertailes  
Of our enmyes that doth us hindering  
Unto our goes, our relm and to the king  
As wise men have shewed wel at eye,  
And al this is coloured by marchandrye.

ANOTHER INCIDENT OF KEPING OF THE SEE IN THE  
 TIME OF THE MERVEILLOUS WERRIOUR AND  
 VICTORIOUS PRINCE, KING HENRY V, AND OF  
 HIS GRETE SHIPPES.

And if I shulde conclude al by the king  
 Henry the fifth, what was his purposing,  
 Whan at Hampton he made the greet dromons,  
 Which passed other greet shippes of al the comons,  
 The Trinitee, the Grace-Dieu, the Holy-Goste  
 And other moo which as now ben yloste.  
 What hoop ye was the kinges grete entente  
 Of the shippes and what in mind he mente?  
 It was not els but that he caste to be  
 Lord round about environ of the see.  
 And whan that Harflew hadde his sege about  
 Ther cam carikkes horrible grete and stout,  
 In the narow see willing to abide  
 To stoppe us ther with multitude of pride.  
 My lord of Bedford came and hadde the cure;  
 Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.  
 This was after the king Harflew hadde womme,  
 Whan our enmyes to besege hadde begonne.  
 That al was slayn or taak by trew relacioun  
 To his worship and of his English nacioun.  
 Ther was present the kinges chamberlain  
 At booth batailles, which knoweth this in certain;  
 He can it tellen other wys than I;  
 Ask him and wite; I pas forth hastely.  
 What hadde this king of high magnificence  
 Of greet corage, of wisdom and prudence,  
 Provision, forewitte, audacitee,  
 Of fortitude, justice, agilitee,  
 Discretioun, subtile avisifnesse,  
 Attemperance, noblesse and worthinesse,

Science, prowes, devocion, equitee,  
Of moste estately magnanimittee  
Liche to Edgar and the saide Edwarde,  
A braunche of booth, lich hem as in regarde.  
Wher was on live a man more victorious  
And in so short tym prince so merveillous?  
By land and see so wel he him acquitte,  
To speke of him I stony in my witte.  
Thus here I leve the king with his noblesse  
Henry the fifth with whom al my processe  
Of this trew boke of pure policy  
Of see keping entending victorye  
I leve endly, for about in the see  
No better was prince of strenuitlee.  
And if he hadde to this tym lived here,  
He hadde ben prince named withouten pere.  
His grete shippes shulde have ben put in prefe  
Unto the end that he mente of in chefe.  
For dout it not but that he wolde have be  
Lord and master about the rounde see,  
And kepte it sure to stoppe our ennies hens,  
And wonne us gode and wisely brought it thens,  
That no passage shulde be without daungere  
And his licence on see to meve the stere.

OF UNITEE, SHEWING OF OUR KEPEING THE SEE,  
WITH ONE ENDLY PROCESSE OF PECE BY AUCTORITEE.

Now than for love of Christ and of his joye  
Bring yet England out of trouble and noye,  
Taak herte and witte and set a gouvernaunce,  
Set many wittes withouten variaunce  
To one accorde and unanimitee,  
Put to good wille for to keep the see.  
Firste for worship and profite also  
And to rebuke eche evil witted fo:

Thus shal richesse and worship to us longe;  
 Than to the noble shal we do no wronge  
 To beer that coigne in figure and in dede  
 To our corage and our ennyes to drede.  
 For which they muste dres hem to pese in haste  
 Or els her thrift to standen and to waste,  
 As this proces hath proved by and bye  
 Al by reson and expert policie  
 And by stories which preved wel this parte;  
 And els I wol my lyf put in jeparthe,  
 But many landes wolde seech her pees for nede  
 The see wel kepte, it muste be don for drede.  
 Thus muste Flaundes for need have unitee  
 And pees with us, it wol none other be,  
 Within short while, and ambassiatours  
 Wolde ben heer soon to treet for her socours.  
 This unitee is to Goddes plesaunce  
 And pese after the werres variaunce.  
 The end of bataille is pees sikerly  
 And poverte causeth pees finally.  
 Keep than the see about in specialle  
 The which of England is the rounde walle;  
 As though England were liked to a citee  
 Of which the walle environ were the see.  
 Keep than the see as the walle of Englonde  
 And than is England kept by Goddes sonde.  
 That is, for any thing that is without  
 England were at ese withouten dout.  
 And thus shulde every land oon with another  
 Entercomon as brother with his brother,  
 And live togeder werreles in unitee  
 Without rancour in verry charitee  
 In rest and pees, to Christes greet plesaunce  
 Withouten stryf, debate and variaunce.



## 6. ON THE ARREST OF SUFFOLK, 1450

[ANONYMOUS]

William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, controlled the government for some years during the reign of Henry VI. The country held them responsible for the loss of Normandy, which in 1450 the French completely reconquered. Somerset was in Normandy, but a strong attack was made on Suffolk for whose blood many people were thirsting. He was arrested and would have been condemned to death if Henry had not banished him. While he was fleeing from the country, he was caught and murdered. This rhyme expresses the savage joy with which his arrest was hailed.

Now is the Fox drevin to hole; hoo to hym, hoo hoo!  
Ffor and he crepe out, he wille yow alle undo.  
Now ye han founde parfite, love welle your game;  
For an ye renne countre, thenne be ye to blame.  
Sum of yow holdith with the Fox, and renny the hare;  
But he that tiede Talbot oure doge, evylle mot he fare!  
Ffor now we mys the black doge withe the wide  
    mouthe;  
Ffor he wolde have rommen welle at the Fox of the  
    southe;  
And alle gooth bacwarde, and Donne is in the myre;  
As they had deservede, so pay they ther hire.  
Now is tyme of Lent, the Fox is in the Towre;  
Therefore sende hym Salesbury to be his confessoure.  
Many mo ther bene, and we kowde hem knowe;  
But wonne most begynne the daunce, and alle come  
    arowe.  
Loke that your hunte blowe welle thy chase;  
But he do welle his part, I beshrew his face!  
This Fox at Bury slowe<sup>1</sup> oure grete gandere;  
Therefore at Tyborne mony monne on hym wondere.

<sup>1</sup> slew.

Jack Napys<sup>1</sup>, with his clogge,  
 Hath tiede Talbot oure gentille dogge.  
 Wherfore Beamownt, that gentille rache,  
 Hath brought Jack Napis in an eville cache.  
 Be ware, al menne, of that blame,  
 And namly ye of grete fame,  
 Spiritualle and temperalle, be ware of this,  
 Or els hit wille not be welle, iwis.  
 God save the kyng, and God forbede  
 That he suche apes any mo fede.  
 And of the perille that may befall  
 Beware, dukes, erles, and barons alle.

## 7. WARWICK THE KING-MAKER CHANGES SIDES

[PHILIPPE DE COMINES]

Edward IV was set on the throne largely by the aid of his cousin Richard Neville earl of Warwick, known as the king-maker. Edward however enraged Warwick by carrying out designs of his own completely subversive of those which Warwick was carrying out with the king's apparent approval. The result was that Warwick espoused the Lancastrian cause.

But to return to king Edward. The greatest pillar of support of the house of York was the earl of Warwick; and the greatest patron of the house of Lancaster was the duke of Somerset. This earl of Warwick, in respect of the eminent services he had done him, and the care he had taken of his education, might have been well called the king Edward's father, and indeed he was a very great man; for besides his own patrimony, he was possessed of several lordships,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Jackanapes = Suffolk.

which were given him by the king, some of crown lands, and some that were confiscated: he was made Captain of Calais, and had other great offices, so that I have heard he received annually in pensions, and these kind of profits, eighty thousand crowns, besides his inheritance. By accident the earl of Warwick was fallen out with his master the year before the duke of Burgundy's expedition against Amiens: the duke of Burgundy had indeed in some measure been the occasion of the breach between them, disliking the mighty sway and authority that the earl bore in England. Besides, there was no good understanding between them, for the earl of Warwick held constant and private correspondence with the king of France our master. In short, about this very time, or a little before, the earl of Warwick was grown so exorbitant in his power, that he imprisoned king Edward, put the queen's father, the lord Rivers, and two of his sons to death, and the third was in great danger, though all of them were great favourites of the king. He also caused several knights, and other persons of quality to be put to death. For some time he used the king very honourably; he put new servants about him, hoping that he would have forgotten the old, for he looked upon his master as a very weak prince. The duke of Burgundy was extremely concerned at what had happened, and privately contrived a way for Edward's escape, and that he might have an opportunity for speaking with him; and their plot succeeded so well, that king Edward escaped out of prison, raised men, fought, and defeated a great body of the earl of Warwick's troops. King Edward was very fortunate in his battles, for he fought nine pitched battles, always on foot, and was always conqueror.

The earl of Warwick finding himself too weak to oppose king Edward, having first given instructions to his private friends what they were to do in his absence, took this opportunity, and put to sea with the duke of Clarence, who had married his daughter, and was then of his faction, (notwithstanding that he was brother to the king); carrying with them their wives and children, and a great number of forces, with whom he appeared before Calais, and designed to have got in. There were at that time several of the earl's servants in the town, and one Monsieur Vaucer in the quality of his lieutenant; who instead of receiving him, fired his guns upon him. Whilst they lay at anchor before the town, the duchess of Clarence, who was daughter to the earl of Warwick, was brought to bed of a son; and great entreaties were used, before Vaucer and the rest could be persuaded to send her two flagons of wine, which was great severity in a servant to use his master so; for it is to be presumed the earl thought himself secure in that place, it being the richest jewel belonging to the crown of England, and the best government in the world, or at least in Christendom: and this I know, for I was there several times during their indifferences, and was told by the chief officer of the staple for cloth, that he would willingly farm the government of the town at fifteen thousand crowns per annum, for the governor of Calais receives all profits on that side of the sea, has the benefits of convoys, and the entire disposal and management of the garrison.

The king of England was extremely pleased and well satisfied with Vaucer for refusing his captain, and sent him a patent to constitute him governor in the earl of Warwick's room; for he was an old experienced officer,

a wise gentleman and of the order of the Garter. The duke of Burgundy was also well pleased with him for this action, and being at St Omers, he sent me to Monsieur Vaucler to assure him of a pension of a thousand crowns, and to desire him to continue that affection which he had already shewn to the king of England. I found him fixed and resolved to be so; and in a great hall in that town he swore solemnly to me, that he would serve the king of England against all oppressors whatsoever, and when he had done so, the whole garrison took the same oath. I was near two months going and coming between Boulogne and Calais, to keep him steady in his principles; but for the most part of the time I was with him, the duke of Burgundy was come to Boulogne, and had his residence there in order to the setting out a great fleet against the earl of Warwick; who at his departure from Calais had taken several ships belonging to the duke of Burgundy's subjects; which was partly the occasion of the war between the king of France and him. For the earl of Warwick's soldiers selling all their booty in Normandy, the duke of Burgundy by way of reprisals, seized upon all the French merchants which came to the fair at Antwerp.

Since it is as absolutely necessary to be acquainted with the examples of the deceit and craftiness of this world, as with instances of integrity, not to make use of them, but to arm ourselves against them, I shall in this place lay open a trick, or piece of policy; but call it what you please, it was certainly wisely managed: but by it you may understand the juggling of our neighbours as well as our own, and that there are good and bad people in all places of the world. When the earl of

Warwick came from Calais, which he looked upon as his principal refuge, and expected to be received, Monsieur Vaucler being a person of great prudence, sent him word, that if he entered, he was a lost man, for all England and the duke of Burgundy would be against him; besides the inhabitants of the town would be his enemies, and a great part of the garrison, as Monsieur Duras, who was the king of England's marshal, and several others who had great interest in the place. Wherefore he advised him, as the best thing he could do, to retire into France, and not to concern himself with Calais, for of that he would give him a fair account upon the first opportunity. He did his governor good service by giving him that counsel but none at all to the king, for certainly no man was ever guilty of a higher piece of ingratitude than this Vaucler, considering the king of England had made him governor in chief of Calais, and the duke of Burgundy settled a large pension upon him.

The earl of Warwick, who followed Vaucler's counsel, landed in Normandy, and was kindly received by the king of France, who furnished him with great sums of money to pay his troops. The duke of Burgundy had at this time a great fleet abroad, infesting the king's subjects both by land and sea: and this fleet was so powerful, that nothing durst oppose it. The king ordered the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, with a strong squadron to assist the English against any attempt that should be made upon them by the duke of Burgundy's fleet: all this happened a little before the surrender of St Quintin and Amiens which was in the year 1470. The duke of Burgundy was stronger at sea than the earl of Warwick and the king

both; for at Sluys he had seized upon several great ships belonging to Spain, Portugal and Genoa, besides many hulks from Germany.

King Edward was not a man of any great management or foresight, but of an invincible courage, and the handsomest prince my eyes ever beheld. The earl of Warwick's landing in Normandy did not so much affect him as it did the duke of Burgundy; who presently perceiving there were great transactions in England in favour of the earl of Warwick, gave frequent information of it to the king; but he never valued it, which in my opinion was great weakness, considering the mighty preparations the king of France had made against him; for he equipped all the ships he could hastily get ready, and well manned and victualled them, and ordered the English fugitives to be paid; by his management also a marriage was concluded between the earl of Warwick's second daughter and the prince of Wales, which prince was the only son to Henry VI who was at that time alive, and prisoner in the Tower: an unaccountable match! to dethrone and imprison the father, and marry his only son to the daughter of him that did it. It was no less surprising that he should delude the duke of Clarence, brother to the king whom he opposed, who ought in reason to have been afraid of, and to have endeavoured to hinder, the restoration of the house of Lancaster; but affairs of so nice a nature are not to be managed without great cunning and artifice.

## 8. THE FLIGHT OF EDWARD IV

[PHILIPPE DE COMINES]

This and the following passage relate how the king-maker expelled Edward IV from England, and how Edward returned and destroyed the Lancastrian resistance. After Tewkesbury there was never a chance of shaking Edward IV.

You have already been informed that the earl of Warwick's fleet, with the squadron the king of France had sent to convey him, were ready to sail, and that the duke of Burgundy's navy lay ready at Havre to engage them : but it pleased God to order it so, that a great storm arising that night, the duke of Burgundy's navy was driven by stress of weather, some into Scotland, some into Holland, and all of them dispersed ; after which, in an hour's time, the weather coming about fair for the earl of Warwick, he took his opportunity and sailed safe into England. The duke of Burgundy had sent king Edward word of the very port where the earl designed to land, and had persons constantly about him on purpose to put him in mind of taking care of himself, and putting his kingdom in a posture of defence. But he never was concerned at any thing, but still followed his hunting : and nobody was so great with him as the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montague, both the earl of Warwick's brothers, who had sworn to be true to him against their brother, and all opposers whatsoever ; and the poor deluded king put an entire confidence in them.

Upon the earl of Warwick's landing, great numbers came in to him, and king Edward was much alarmed ; then, when too late, he began to look about him, and sent to the duke of Burgundy to desire that his fleet



might be ready at sea to intercept the earl of Warwick in his return for France, for on land he knew how to deal with him. The duke of Burgundy was not well pleased with these words, for it was looked upon as a greater piece of policy to have hindered the earl from landing, than to be forced to run the hazard of a battle afterwards, to drive him out again. The earl of Warwick had not been landed above five or six days, before the whole country came in to him: he encamped within three leagues of the king, whose army (had they been all true to his interest) was superior to the earl's, and waited on purpose to give him battle. The king was possessed of a strong villa or house, to which as he told me himself, there was no access but by one bridge which proved of great service to him; the rest of his forces were quartered in the neighbouring villages. As he sat at dinner, news was brought him that the marquis Montague, the earl of Warwick's brother, and several other persons of quality, were mounted on horseback, and caused their soldiers to cry—"God bless king Henry." At first king Edward would give no credit to it, but despatched other messengers to inquire, and in the meantime armed himself, and posted a battalion of his guards at the bridge in case of any assault. There was with him at that time a very prudent gentleman called Lord Hastings, high chamberlain of England, in great authority with the king, and he deserved it, for though his wife was the earl of Warwick's sister, he continued loyal to his king, and was then in his service, as he told me afterwards, with a body of three thousand horse. There was another likewise with him called the lord Rivers, brother to king Edward's queen, besides several persons of quality, who began to think that all was not well, for

the messengers confirmed what was told the king before, and that the enemy was marching boldly on, with a design to surprise him in his quarters.

It happened king Edward's quarters were no great distance from the sea, and a small ship that followed with provisions for his army lay at anchor, with two Dutch vessels, hard by. King Edward had but just time to get on board one of them : his chamberlain stayed a little behind, who advised his lieutenant and the rest of the officers to go in with the rest to the earl of Warwick, but conjured them to retain their old affection and allegiance to the king ; and then he also went aboard the ships which were just ready to set sail. It is the custom in England, when a battle is won, to give quarter, and no man is killed, especially of the common soldiers, (for they know everybody will favour the strongest side), and it is seldom that they are ransomed ; so that when the king had made his escape, not one of his men was put to the sword. King Edward told me, that in all the battles which he had gained, his way was, when the victory was on his side, to mount on horseback and cry out to save the common soldiers, and put the gentry to the sword, by which means none, or very few of them escaped.

And thus king Edward made his escape in the year 1470, by the assistance of a small vessel of his own, and two Dutch merchantmen, being only attended by seven or eight hundred men, without any clothes but what they were to have fought in, no money in their pockets, and not one in twenty of them knew whither they were going.

## 9. THE VICTORY OF EDWARD IV

[PHILIPPE DE COMINES]

King Edward set sail for England in the year 1471, at the same time as the duke of Burgundy marched toward Amiens in order to put a stop to the progress of the king of France's arms. The duke was of opinion that the affairs of England could not go amiss for him, since he was sure of friends on both sides. King Edward was no sooner landed, than he marched directly for London, where he had above two thousand of his party in sanctuary; among whom were three or four hundred persons of quality, who were of great advantage to his affairs, and added considerably to the small number of forces he brought over with him. The earl of Warwick was at that time in the North with a powerful army, but upon the news of king Edward's landing, he marched back again with all speed, towards London, in hopes to have got thither before him; however, he presumed the city would have been true to him, but he was mistaken for king Edward was received into the city on the Monday before Easter, with the universal acclamation of the citizens; contrary to the expectation of most people, for everybody looked upon him as lost; and, without dispute, if the citizens had but shut their gates against him, he had been irrevocably lost, for the earl of Warwick was within a day's march of him. As I have been since informed, there were three things especially, which contributed to his kind reception into London; the first was the persons of quality of the party which were in the sanctuaries, and the birth of a young prince of whom the queen was there brought to bed. The next was the great debts which he owed in the town, which

obliged all the tradesmen that depended upon his restoration to appear for him. The third was, that the ladies of quality, and rich citizens' wives with whom he had formerly intrigued, forced their husbands and relations to declare themselves of his side. He stayed but two days in the town, for on the Easter-eve he marched with all the forces he could to give the earl of Warwick battle ; the next day, being Easter-day, they met, and as they were drawn up, and stood in order of battle one against the other, the duke of Clarence went over to his brother king Edward, and carried with him near twelve thousand men, which was a great discouragement to the earl of Warwick's army, and a mighty strengthening to king Edward's which before was but weak.

You have already heard how the negotiation with the duke of Clarence was managed : yet for all this, the battle was sharp and bloody : both sides fought on foot ; and the king's vanguard suffered extremely in this action, and the earl's main battle advanced against his, and so near, that the king himself was engaged in person, and behaved himself as any officer in the army. The earl of Warwick's custom was never to fight on foot, but when he had once led his men to the charge, he mounted on horseback himself, and if he found victory inclined to his side, he charged boldly amongst them, if otherwise, he took care of himself betimes, and provided for his escape. But now, at the importunity of his brother the marquis of Montague, who was a person of great courage, he fought on foot, and sent away his horses. The conclusion of all was, the earl, the marquis of Montague, and several other brave officers were killed, for the slaughter was very great, king Edward having resolved at his departure from Flanders to call

out no more to spare the common soldiers, and kill only the gentlemen, as he had formerly done ; for he had conceived a mortal hatred against the commons of England, for having favoured the earl of Warwick so much, and for other reasons besides ; so that he spared none of them at that time ; this battle was bravely fought, for on the king's side there were killed fifteen hundred men.

The very day on which this fight happened, the duke of Burgundy, being before Amiens, received letters from the duchess, his wife, that the king of England was not at all satisfied with him ; that the assistance he had given him was not done frankly, and with an intention of serving him, but as if he had been in dispute with himself whether he should have deserted him or not ; and to speak plainly, there was never a good understanding between them afterwards ; yet the duke of Burgundy seemed to be extremely pleased at the news, and published it all over the army. I had almost forgot to acquaint you that king Edward finding king Henry in London, took him along with him to the fight ; this king Henry was a very weak prince, and almost a changeling ; and, if what was told me be true, after the battle was over, the duke of Gloucester, who was king Edward's brother, and afterwards called king Richard, slew this poor king Henry with his own hand, or caused him to be carried into some private place and himself stood by, while he was killed.

The prince of Wales, of whom I have spoken before, was landed in England before this battle, and had joined his forces with those of the earls of Exeter and Somerset, and several others of their family and party ; so that in all, as I have been informed by those who were in that army, they amounted to above forty thousand men. If

the earl of Warwick had had but a little patience to have stayed till he had been joined by those forces, in all probability they had won the day. But the fear he had of the duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death, and the hatred he bore to queen Margaret, mother to the prince of Wales, induced him to fight alone without waiting for their supplies. By this example we may observe how old animosities and factions last, how highly they are to be feared in themselves, and how destructive and dangerous they are in their consequences. As soon as king Edward had obtained this signal victory, he marched against the prince of Wales, and there he won another great battle; for though the prince of Wales's army was more numerous than the king's, yet king Edward got the victory, and the prince of Wales, several other great lords, and a great number of common soldiers, were killed upon the spot; and the duke of Somerset, being taken, was beheaded the next day. In eleven days the earl of Warwick had subdued the whole kingdom of England, or at least reduced it to his obedience. In twenty days king Edward recovered it again, but it cost him two great and desperate battles to regain it. And thus you have an account of the revolutions of England. King Edward caused several persons of quality to be put to death in many places, especially those that were found guilty of any confederacy against him. Of all nations in the world the English are easiest brought to battle. After this fight, king Edward enjoyed continuous peace and prosperity till his death, yet not without some troubles and afflictions of mind; but I shall forbear saying any more of the English affairs, till I can do it more conveniently in another place.

## 10. EDWARD IV AND LOUIS XI

[PHILIPPE DE COMINES]

Edward IV in alliance with Charles the Bold of Burgundy, threatened to invade France. Louis XI was alarmed, but had a crafty reliance—fully justified in the event—on the power of diplomacy and money to render the English king's invasion harmless. Edward landed, but was comfortably bought off by the treaty of Pecquigny (1475).

But to proceed; the king of England, in order to embark for Calais, was marched down to Dover with an army the most numerous, the best disciplined, and the best armed that ever any king of that nation invaded France with. He was attended by the flower of the English nobility, which consisted of fifteen hundred men at arms, accoutred after the French fashion, well mounted, and every one of them having several persons on horseback in his retinue. His archers were fifteen thousand on horseback with their bows and arrows, besides a great number on foot to pitch his tents and pavilions, take care of the artillery, and enclose his camp, and not one useless person in the whole army; besides which there was a body of three thousand men that was to be landed in Bretagne.

The king of England being at Dover, ready to embark, the duke of Burgundy sent him five hundred Dutch bottoms, which were flat and low, and very proper for the transportation of horses; which boats in Holland and Zealand are called scuts; yet, notwithstanding that vast number, and all that the king could provide of his own, the embarking and landing his forces at Calais took up three weeks, though the distance between Dover and that place is but seven leagues. From thence one may observe with what

prodigious difficulty the kings of England transport their armies into France; and if the king of France had understood the sea as well as he did the land affairs, king Edward could never have landed in France, at least that year. But his majesty had no skill in them; and those to whom he committed the care and management of them, knew less of them than himself; yet one of our men of war belonging to Eu took two or three of their transports.

Before the king of England embarked, he sent one of his heralds named Garter, a native of Normandy, to the king of France, with a letter of defiance written in such an elegant style, and such polite language, that I can scarce believe any Englishman wrote it.

The contents were, that our king should surrender to the king of England the kingdom of France, as his right and inheritance; to the end that he might restore the church, the nobility, and the people, to their ancient liberty, and relieve them from the great oppression and slavery they groaned under; and if he refused, he declared that all the ensuing miseries and calamities would lie at his door, according to the forms upon such occasions. The king of France read the letter to himself, and then wisely withdrawing into another room, commanded the herald to be called in. As soon as he was admitted into his presence, he told him that he was very sensible his master had not made this descent upon any disposition of his own, but at the importunity of the duke of Burgundy, and the commons of England, that it was visible the summer was far spent, and the duke of Burgundy returned from Nuz, but so weak, and in such a miserable condition, he would not be in a capacity to assist him: that as for the constable, he was



satisfied he held intelligence with the king of England, for he had married his niece; but there was no confidence to be reposed in him, for he would deceive the king his master as he had often done him: and having enumerated several favours which he had conferred upon him, he added, "His design is to live in eternal dissimulation, to treat and amuse everybody, and to make his advantage of them all." Besides which, the king used several arguments to the herald to persuade his master to an accommodation with him, gave him three hundred crowns with his own hand, and promised him a thousand more upon the conclusion of the peace; and then in public his majesty ordered him to be presented with a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells.

The herald replied, that, according to his capacity, he would contribute all that lay in his power towards a peace, and he believed his master would not be averse from it; but there was no making any proposals till he was landed with his whole army in France, and then, if his majesty pleased, he might send a herald to desire a passport for his ambassadors, if he had a mind to send any to him to set a treaty on foot; but withal he desired his majesty to address his letters to the lords Howard or Stanley, and a word or two to himself, to introduce his herald.

There were abundance of people attending without, during the king's private discourse with the herald, all of them impatient to hear what the king would say, and to see how his majesty looked when he came forth. When he had done, he called to me, and charged me to entertain the herald till he ordered him some other company, that might keep him from talking privately

with anybody; he commanded me likewise to give him a piece of crimson velvet of thirty ells, which I did. After which the king addressed himself to the rest of the company, gave them an account of his letters of defiance, and calling seven or eight of them apart, he ordered the letters to be read aloud, shewing himself very cheerful and valiant, without the least sign of fear in the world; and indeed he was much revived by what he had got out of the herald.

## 11. THE EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS

[SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Richard III*]

On the death of Edward IV, his brother Richard duke of Gloucester got possession of the person of the young king Edward V and procured his own appointment as Protector of the realm. In pursuit of his own ambitions, he proceeded to strike down the leading men whose possible opposition he feared. One of the first victims was Lord Hastings.

Whereupon sone after, that is to wit, on the Friday the — day of — many Lordes assembled in the Tower, and there sat in counsaile, devising the honorable solempnite of the kinges coronacion, of which the time appointed then so nere approached, that the pageauntes and suttelties were in making day and night at Westminster and much vitaille killed therefore, and afterward was cast away. These lordes so sytting togyther comoning this matter, the protectour came in among them, fyrst aboute ix. of the clock, saluting them curtesly, and excusyng himself that he had ben from them so long, saiyng merely that he had bene a slepe that day. And after a little talking with them, he sayd vnto the Bishop of Elye: My lord you haue very good strauberries

at your gardayne in Holborne, I require you let us haue a messe of them. Gladly my lord, quod he, woulde God I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that. And therwith in al the hast he sent hys seraunt for a messe of strauberies. The protectour sette the lordes fast in comoning, and therupon prayeing them to spare hym for a little while departed thence. And sone, after one hower, betwene x. and xi. he returned into the chamber among them, al changed, with a wonderful soure angrye countenaunce, knitting the browes, frowning and froting and knawing on hys lippes, and so sat him downe in hys place; al the lordes much dismaied and sore merueiling of this maner of sodain chaunge, and what thing should him aile. Then when he had sitten still a while, thus he began; What were they worthy to haue, that compasse and ymagine the distruccion of me, being so nere of blood vnto the king and protectour of his riall person and his realme? At this question, al the lordes sat sore astonied, musyng much by whome thys question should be ment, of which euery man wyst himselfe clere. Then the lord chamberlen, as he that for the loue betwene them thoughte he might be the boldest with him, aunswered and sayd, that thei wer worthye to bee punished as heighnous traitors, whatsoeuer they were. And al the other affirmed the same. That is (quod he) yonder sorceres my brothers wife and other with her, meaning the quene. At these wordes many of the other Lordes were gretly abashed that favoured her. But the lord Hastings was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom he loued better. Albeit hys harte somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this mater, as he was of the

taking of her kynred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to bee byhedded at Pountfreit, this selfe same day, in which he was not aware that it was by other deuised, that himself should the same day be behedded at London. Then sayd the protectour: ye shal al se in what wise that sorceres and that other witch of her counsel, Shoris wife, with their affynite, haue by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body. And therwith he plucked vp hys doublet sleue to his elbow vpon his lefte arme, where he shewed a werish withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mannes mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarel. For wel thei wist, that the quene was to wise to go aboute any such folye. And also if she would, yet wold she of all folke leste make Shoris wife of counsaile, whom the king her husband had most loued. And also no man was there present, but wel knew that his harme was euer such since his birth. Natheles the lorde Chamberlen aunswered and sayd: certainly my lorde if they haue so heinously done, thei be worthy heinouse punichment. What quod the protectour, thou seruest me, I wene, with illës and with andes, I tel the thei haue so done, and that I will make good on they body, traitour. And therwith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the borde a great rappe. At which token giuen, one cried treason without the chambre. Therwith a dore clapped, and in come there rushing men in harneys as many as the chambre might hold. And anon the protectour sayd to the lorde Hastings: I arrest the, traitour. What, me, my Lorde? quod he. Yea the, traitour, quod the protectour. And another let flee at the Lorde Standley which shronke at the stroke and

fel vnder the table, or els his hed had ben clefte to the tethe: for as shortly as he shranke, yet ranne the blood about hys eares. Then were they al quickly bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lorde chamberlen, whom the protectour bade spede and shryue hym apace, for by saynt Poule (quod he) I wil not to dinner til I se thy hed of. It boted him not to aske why, but heuely he toke a priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the protectour made so haste to dyner; which he might not go to til this wer done for sauing of his othe. So was he brought forth into the grene beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down vpon a long log of timbre, and there striken of, and afterward his body with the hed entred at Windsore beside the body of Kinge Edwarde, whose both soules our Lord pardon.

## 12. RICHARD III ACCEPTS THE CROWN

[SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Richard III*]

The next step in the Protector's programme was to procure the setting aside of the young king and the rest of the children of Edward IV on an amazing plea of illegitimacy, and his own recognition as lawful king of England.

Then on the morowe after, the mayre with all the aldermen and chiefe comeners of the citie in their beste maner apparrailed, assembling themself together resorted vnto Baynardes castell where the protectour lay. To which place repaired also according to theyr appointmente the duke of Buckingham, with dyuers noble menne with him, beside manye knightes and other gentlemen. And there upon the duke sent worde vnto the lord protectour, of the being there of a great and honourable coumpanye,

to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protectour made difficultie to come oute vnto them, but if he first knewe some part of theyr errance, as though he doubted and partleye dystrusted the commyng of suche noubner vnto him so sodainlye, withoute any warnyng or knowledge, whyther they came for good or harme. Then the Duke when he had shewed this vnto the maire and other that they mighte thereby see howe lytle the protectour loked for this matter, thei sent vnto him by the messenger suche louyng message againe, and therewith so humblye besought hym to vouchesafe that thei might resort to hys presence, to purpose their intent, of which they would vnto none other parson any part disclose, that at the laste hee came foorth of his chamber, and get not down vnto them, but stode aboue in a galayre ouer them, where they mighte see hym and speake to him, as though he woulde not yet come to nere them tyll he wist what they mente. And thereuppon the Duke of Buckingham fyrste made humble peticion vnto him, on the behalfe of them all, that his grace woulde pardon them and lycence them to purpose vnto hys grace the intent of their commyng withoute his displeasure, withoute whiche pardon obtayned, they durst not be bold to moue him of that matter. In whiche albeit thei ment as muche honor to hys grace as wealthe to al the realm beside, yet were they not sure howe hys grace woulde take it, whom they would in no wyse offende. Then the protector as hee was very gentle of hymselfe, and also longed sore to wit what they mente, gaue hym leaue to purpose what hym lyked, verely trustyng for the good minde that he bare them al, none of them ani thing would intende vnto hym warde, where with he ought to be greued. When the duke had this

leauē and pardone to speake, then waxed he bolde to shewe hym theyr intent and purpose with all the causes mouing them thereunto as ye before haue harde, and finally to beseche hys grace, that it wold lyke him of his accustomed goodnes and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eye of pitie, to beholde the long continued distres and decay of the same and to sette his gracious handes to the redresse and amendement thereof, by taking vppon him the crowne and gouernaunce of this realme, according to his right and tytyle lawfully descended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profyete of the land, and vnto his grace so muche the more honour and lesse paine, in that that neuer prince raigned vpon any people, that were so glad to liue vnder hys obeysaunce as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the protector had hard the propositiō, he loked very strangely therat, and answered: That all were it that he partli knew the thinges by them alledged to be true; yet such entier loue he bare vnto the king Edward and his children, that so muche more regarded hys honour in other realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desyrous, that he could not fynde in his hearte in this poynte to encline to theyr desyre. For in all other nacyōs where the trueth wer not welknowne, it shold paraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious minde and deuise, to depose the prince and take himself the crown. With which infami he wold not haue his honoure stayned for anye crowne. In which he had euer parceyued muche more labour and payne, then pleasure to hym that so woulde so vyse it, as he that woulde not were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding he not only pardoned them the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue

and hearty fauoure they bare him, prayinge them for his sake to geue and beare the same to the prynce, vnder whom he was and would be content to lyue, and with his labour and counsel as farre as should like the kyng to vse him, he would doe his vttermost deuor to set the realm in good state. Whiche was alreadye in this little while of his protectorship (the prayse geuen to God) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to bee, were nowe partelye by good polieye, partly more by Goddes special prouidence then mans prouision repressed. Vpon this answer geuen, the Duke by the protectours lycence, a litle roured, as well with other noble men about him as with the mayre and recorder of London. And after that vpon lyke pardone desyred and obtayned, he shewed aloude vnto the protectour that for a fynal conclusion, that the realm was appointed king Edwardes lyne shoulde not any longer reigne vpon them, both for that thei had so farre gone, that it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that wai although they had not yet begonne it. Wherefore yf it would lyke hys grace to take the crowne vpon him, they woulde humblye beseche hym thereunto. If he woulde geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrarye, whyche they woulde bee lothe to heare, than muste they needes seeke and shold not faile to fynd some other noble manne that woulde. These wordes muche moued the protectoure, whiche els, as euery manne may witte, would neuer of likelyhoode haue inclyned therunto. But when he saw ther was none other way, but that eyther he must take it or els he and his bothe goe fro it, he saide vnto the lordes and commons; Sith we parceiue wel that al the realm is so



set, whereof we be very sorye that they wil not suffer in any wise king Edwardes line to gouerne them, whom no manne earthly can gouerne again their willes, and we wel also perceue, that no manne is there, to whom the crowne can by so just tittle appertayn as to our self, as verye ryghte heyre lawfullye begotten of the bodye of oure moste deere father Rycharde late Duke of Yorke, to whiche tittle is nowe joyned your elleccion, the nobles and comons of this realm, whiche wee of all titles possible take for most effectual: we be content and agre fauourably to incline to your peticion and request, and accordyng to the same, here we take vppon vs the royall estate, pre-eminence and kyngdome of the two noble realmes, England and Fraunce, the tone fro this day forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defend, the tother by Goddes grace and youre good helpe to geat again and subdewe, and establish for euer in due obedyence vnto this realme of England, thaduancement wherof we neuer aske of God longer to lyue then we entende to procure. With this there was a great shout, crying, kyng Richard, king Rychard. And then the lordes went vp to the kyng (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talkyng diuersly of the matter euery man as his fantasyc gaue hym.

## CHAPTER VI

### HENRY VII, AND HENRY VIII TO WOLSEY'S FALL

#### AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) SIR THOMAS MORE: see Chapter V.
- (2) EDWARD HALLE, c. 1499-1547, wrote *The Union of the Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York*, commonly known as *Hall's Chronicle*. His work ended with 1532 but was continued to the end of the reign by Grafton. For the first years, his information was second-hand but was derived from authoritative sources.
- (3) ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE, ?1500-1565, was a valuable if not too trustworthy historian of the events which took place during his own lifetime, recorded in his *Chronicles of Scotland*. He was more anxious perhaps to be picturesque than accurate.
- (4) JOHN SKELTON, ?1460-1529, reputed the first "poet-laureate," was familiar with the court of Henry VIII, and attacked Cardinal Wolsey with bitter satire, in the poem called *Why come ye nat to Court*.
- (5) GEORGE CAVENDISH, gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey, wrote his *Life* in a spirit sympathetic to the great man whom he loved and admired without being blind to his faults.

#### 1. A LETTER FROM GERALD FITZ-GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE, TO THE EARL OF ORMOND.

[ROLLS SERIES]

Kildare was "Deputy," that is, acting Governor, of Ireland through the greater part of the reign of Henry VII. He was the head of the great Geraldine family, while Ormond was head of the Butlers. Nearly all the south of Ireland was controlled by one or other of these rival families.

My lorde and cosyn, yn as herty wyse as I can  
I recommaund me to you. Like it you to understand

that nowe of late I did send my servantis to the kyng with letteris and enstruccionis such as I thought sholde have contented his mynde ; that not withstanding thei was commytted to warde, where as never messengeris was so entreted before, ne I can understand as yet the causes why. I am accused to the kyng as I understand, that I sholde have layn with the <sup>1</sup>French lad that was supported with your cosyn and myne therle of Desmound, and that I sholde ayd, supporte, and comforte hym with godes and mesages ; where as I never lay with hym ne ayded, comforted ne supported hym, with godes ne yn none other manner wyse, as the lordes of this land have certified his highenes at this tyme. Where unto I pray you yeve credence, and to be my gode cosyn at this time, where by I may the soner attayn my peticions to the kyng is grace. This land was never destrued till nowe, whate by reason of the compying downs of your bace cosyn with the kyng is Irish enemies to set his moost noble auctorite in hure, and promysed them grete godes with all ther gettingyng on the kyng is English subjectis that all is lost. Your said cosyn pubbliseth and name hymself erle of Ormound, and because he can not have the better over your kynnesmen he provoketh and styrreth Irishmen ther aboute the countes of Kilkenny and Typperary to destrue the said countes, which bene in substance destrued all redy ; and whether this be your pleasyre or no I knowe not. Also, I have restrayned the receitis of your rentis tyll I knowe your mynde therein to whom ye wolde that thei sholde be payed ; for your said cosyn and the archbyshope bene concluded that at the nexst parlement he shalbe legitimate, and enabled by auctorite of the same to

<sup>1</sup> Perkin Warbeck.

therledome of Ormond as thogh ye were never entiteled therto. And whate ye will that I sholde do theryn I shalbe at your commaundment. I pray you to be gode lorde to Cristofre Dowdall, archdekyn of Mythe, at this tyme; And that the kyng may be gode and graciouse lorde on my peticioness, and whate pleaseure I can do here shalbe alway at your desyre. And Jesu preserve you. Yeven under my signete at Divelyn the Xj day of Februar. And that ye yeve credence to Cristofre Dovedall, archidekn of Mythe, this berrer.

G. E. OF K.

To my lorde and cosyn,  
therle of Ormond.

2. HENRY VII TO THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP'S  
COUNCIL. REGARDING COMMERCIAL  
GRIEVANCES (1496)

[ROLLS SERIES]

Henry VII was much concerned with the development of English commerce, particularly of that with the Low Countries which formed a part of the Burgundian dominion. The archduke Philip was lord of Burgundy through his mother, a daughter of Charles the Bold. His father was Maximilian of Austria. The treaty here referred to was a Commercial one, commonly called the *Intercursus Magnus*, or Great Intercourse, intended to establish free trading between the two countries.

Most dear and good friends, since our other letters that we wrote to you by our subject John Pickering, touching the agreement newly made in your countries about the woollen cloths which our subjects merchants convey or cause to be conveyed hither out of this our

kingdom, we have been again duly informed that, notwithstanding the treaty and appointment lately made and concluded between us and the ambassadors of our cousin the archduke, our said subjects merchants are daily compelled to pay the florin with the cross of St Andrew on each piece of cloth, or deliver sufficient security for the provision thereof; that their cloths are even unpacked and sealed with a leaden seal ordained by our said cousin and his council for this purpose, and taken by force and violence and removed from their booths; and, moreover, when the officers engaged in this matter know where the said cloths are, they go and shut them up with two or three locks, because they will not consent to pay the said florin; which things are directly contrary to our said treaty and appointment, and to the very great prejudice and injury of all our said subjects frequenting the said countries there. We being much surprised how among you you will suffer and tolerate such novelties to be imposed on our subjects, seeing that it is expressly said by our said treaty, that nothing new shall be imposed upon them otherwise than has been the custom for fifty years past; but they should by the same our treaty be as well and favourably received in the said countries of our said cousin the archduke as they ever were. And therefore most dear friends, we pray you that you will put other order in the matter, and see our said subjects merchants to be treated according to the contents of our said treaty, and inform us at this time truly by writing of that which shall be done and ordained hereupon, to the end that we may know how we should conduct ourselves further for the good and surety of our said subjects merchants, for we could not suffer

them to be otherwise treated than is said and concluded between our said cousin the archduke and us. And so, most dear and good friends, our Lord have you all in his good keeping. Written in our manor of Shene, the 21st day of June, the year '96.

Signed: Henry R.

Meautis.

### 3. RURAL ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VII

[SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Utopia*]

An agricultural revolution was in progress in this reign. The landowners had discovered that it paid them much better to breed sheep, for their wool, than to grow corn, and great numbers of agricultural labourers were thrown out of employment by the conversion of tillage into pasture.

But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great number of gentlemen which cannot be content to live idle themselves, like dorrers, of that which other have laboured for—their tenants I mean: whom they poll and shave to the quick, by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else, through their lavish and prodigal spending, able to bring themselves to very beggary); these gentlemen I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails, a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving-men, which never learned any craft whereby to get their livings. These men as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinently thrust out of doors: for gentlemen had rather keep idle persons, than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving-men

as his father did. Then in the mean season, they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger or manfully play the thieves.....

But yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. "What is that," quoth the Cardinal? Forsooth, my lord (quoth I) your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters; now as I hear say, be become so great devourers, and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses and cities: for look, in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool—there, noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men, no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure, nothing profiting—yea, much noying the weal-public, leave no ground for tillage: they inclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheep-house. And, as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands, and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling-places, and all glebe land, into desolation and wilderness.

Therefore it is, that one covetous and unsatiabie cormorant and very plague of his native country, may compass and inclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge: the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by covin and fraud, or violent oppression, they be put besides it; or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they

be compelled to sell all. By one means therefore or by other, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart away—poor silly, wretched souls! men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babies, and the whole household small in substance, and much in number: as husbandry requireth many hands.

Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale: yet, being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they then do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or else go about a begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves there to. For one shepherd or herdsman is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be in many places dearer. Yea, besides this, the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it, and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness.

For after that so much ground was enclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of sheep died of the rot: such vengeance God took of their inordinate and unsatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which more justly should have



fallen on the sheep-masters own heads! And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, because there be so few sellers: for they be almost all come into a few rich men's hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinde of cattle; yea, and that so much the more, because that, after farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store: for these rich men bring not up the young ones of great cattle as they do lambs.

But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommmodity hereof is not yet felt; for yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up, then shall there also be felt great dearth; store beginning there to fail, where the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your island, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist: for this great dearth of victuals causeth men to keep as little houses, and as small hospitality as they possibly may, and to put away their servants—whither, I pray you, but a begging? or else, which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto—stealing? Now to amend the matter, to this wretched beggary and miserable poverty, is joined great wantonness, importunate superfluity, and excessive riot: for not only gentlemen's servants, but also handy craftsmen, yea, and almost the

ploughmen of the country with all other sorts of people, use much strange and proud newfangles in their apparel, and too much prodigal riot, and sumptuous fare at their table.

Suffer not these rich men to buy up all, to ingross, and forestall, and with their monopoly to keep the market alone as please them. Let not so many be brought up in idleness; let husbandry and tillage be restored: let cloth-working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds, or idle serving-men, and shortly will be thieves. Doubtless, unless you find a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vain advance yourselves of executing justice upon felons; for this justice is more beautiful in appearance, and more flourishing to the shew, than either just or profitable: for by suffering your youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected, even from their tender age, by little and little with vice: then in God's name to be punished, when they commit the same faults after being come to man's state, which from their youth they were ever like to do—in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you than make thieves, and then punish them?

#### 4. HOW THE FRENCH BROUGHT VICTUALS INTO TEROUANNE (1513)

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

Henry VIII in 1512 was inveigled into a war with France. The three following sections are all concerned with incidents in this war, during 1513. Two of them have to do with the siege of Terouanne in Picardy; the other (5) describes a sea-fight.

The cite of Tirwin was strongly fortified with walles, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diverse fortresses in the diches, which were so brode and so plum stepe that was wondre to beholde. The lorde Pountremy was capitain generall, and with him wer within the cite VI. C. horsemen furnished, and twoo M. V. C. Almaines beside the inhabitauntes of the city, the walles and towers wer ful of ordenaunce, which did oftentimes great displeasure to the Englishmen. The Erle of Shrewsbury laied siege to the toune, on the North West side, and the lorde Herbert on the East side or end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished with the Englishmen, but the Archers shot so fast that they drave the Frenchemen into the cite, and slewe and toke diverse of them. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, having no hil or other thyng to succour or defende him, caused great trenches to be made, and so mawgre his enemies he approached very nere the cite: likewise therle of Shrewsbury with thee forward, gat into an holowe ground or valey nere to the cite. Daily the Frenchmen shot at thenglishmen, and diverse tymes issued out and skirmished, and ever thei lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce thei hurte diverse Englishmen. Wherefore the lordes commaunded the pioners to raise a great trenche in whiche

they laied the great ordinaunce, and daily as their might they approached: syr Rise ap Thomas with the horsemen daily skowered the countrey, and many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diverse prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Upon the Mundaie beeyng the xxvii. daie of June, xxiiii. Cartes charged with victaill, wer by the Garrison of Caleis conduited to Guisnes, and ther the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with three c. foote men, under the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, al beying in nombre III. c. LX. men, set furthe to conduite the saied victailes to tharmie liyng before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsemen fel a drinkyng in the waie, and the foote men wer al out of ordre. The duke of Vandosme capitain generall of Picardie, which laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guysnes with viii. c. light horse men, toke his advauntage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceivyng that losed their horses and flected to the toune, whiche was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitain of Guysnes did al he could, to bryng the footemen in an ordre: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set them in ordre, the horsemen of Guysnes whiche wer but onely xxiiii. toke their speres and joyned with the Frenchemen: the Archers of Englande whyche passed not LX. shot manfully, and a noble capitain called Baltier Delien and diverse other, but the Frenchemen wer so many in nombre and in good ordre, that thei slew viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guysnes, and xxx. Archers slain and many hurte, and so thei distrustred the victailes, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux and

sir Edward Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. The misaventure fell by tariyng of the horsemen and breaking of array, for if tharchers had taried together it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that held together, slewe and hurte diverse Frenchmen: For on the field laie LXXXVII. great horse which never went thence by the which it appered that the Frenchemen went not quite a waie without losse.

When tidyngs of this misaventure came to the lordes at the siege, thei wer not a litle displeased: and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the stirroppe, and he with his horsmen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the contrey, whiche hearyng of the commyng of sir Rise, with great hast retretd backe to Bangey Abbey, where the French kynges great army laie. Sir Rise heryng that he was returned came the next day agayn to the sege. The rumour of this skyrnisch sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, wherfore the tounes fiered ther bekons and range alarme, divers honorable men that had passed the see with companies of souldiours and were in Caleis, marched forward in order of battaile, but heryng of the departing of Mounsir de Vandosme, they rested. Then was new provision made for vitaille and sent daily from Caleis to Turwyn by such conduite, that the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was wel vitaled out of Flaunders and Henawde.

##### 5. THE BATTLE OF BREST HARBOUR 1513

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

As you have hard before the lorde Admiral of England lay stil on the coast of Britain [Bretagne] in

the Bay, called Bartrames Bay, so that for feare of hym and the English Navie, neither the great shippes in Brest haven durst once more to the lea ward, nor yet Prior Jhon for al his strong Galeis would once set out a saile: saving now and then send furth his smal Foystes, to make a shew before thenglish navy whiche chased



The *Great Harry* built by Henry VIII

them to their Bay, but because thenglish shippes were so greate thei could not enter the Bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that, with greate daunger, for the Galies and bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wonder how the Englishemen escaped.

The Admyrall of Englande perceiving the Frenche

mennes pollecy, called a counsaill and there determined first to assaile Prior Jhon and his Galies, liyng in Whitsand Bay, and after to set on the remnaunt in the haven of Brest. Then first was appointed that Water lord Ferreis, sir Stephen Bul and other capitaines, should go a land with a convenient compaignie, to assault the Bulwarkes of Whitsand Bay, while the Lorde Admyrall entered with rowe Barges and litle Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed bothe by water and land.

Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsaill ; but alas, this noble captain counsailed by a spanishe knight called sir Alphous Charant whiche saied that he might entre the Bay with litel jeopardy, called to hym William Fitz William, William Cooke, John Colley, and syr Wolstan Browne as the chief and his moste trusty frendes, and declared to them that the matter was litle, and the honor greate, if they only tooke on them that enterpryce, and let none other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desiryng honour gladly assented: so on saint Markes day, the xvi. daie of Aprill, the said Admirall put him self in a small rowe barge, with three other small rowing shippes, and his awne ship boate, and so rowed sodainly into the Baye, where Prior Jhon had moored his Galies just to the ground, which Galies with the bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that thei that folowed wer afraid: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and drave out thee Frenchemen, William Fitz William within his shippe was sore hurte with a quarrel [bolt]. The Bay was very shalow, and the other shippes could not entre, for the tide was spent, whiche thyng the Frenchmen perceiving, and that there could come no succoure to the

Admirall, wyth Morris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceivynge their approchyng, thought to have entered again into his rowe Barge, whiche by violence of the tide was driven doune the streme, and so with a pike was throwen over the borde and so drowned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and al the other boates and vesselles scaped hardely, for if thei had taried, the tide had failed them and then all had been lost. The lord Ferreis and other capitaines muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he dyd it without counsail, and so he hath sped. And therefore although that they would have sette on the Navie in Brest haven, yet havynge no Admiral nor commision, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the kynges pleasur, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Navie perceivynge that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their havens, and Prior Jhon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and costed Britain and Normandy, and coasted over to the coast of Sussex and al his compaignie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore cottages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortely reised the countrei and came to the coast and drove Prior Jhon to his Galeis. This was al the hurt that this stout capitain of so great fame did to England, sayynge he robbed certein poore Fissermen of Whitynges. The kyng hearing the death of his Admiral was not a litle sory, considerynge both the nobilitie of his birthe, and the valiauntnes of his persone, but all sorowe availeth not when the chaunce is past. Therefore the kyng hering that the Frenche Navie was abroad, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward



late Admirall, and soune and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey, and made him Admirall, willyng him to revenge his brothers death, which with great reverence, thanked the kyng of the high truste that he had put him in. And then immediately went to the sea, and so nobly and valiantly did skower the sea, that the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of England, for he fought with them at their awen portes.

## 6. THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS 1513

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

The Frenchmen came on in III. ranges XXXVI. mens thickenes and wel they perceived the kinges battayle of footmen marching forward: the erle of Essex capitayne of the horsemen, and sir Jhon Peche with the kinges horsemen and the Burgonions to the number of a XI. C. strode with banner displaid in a valey. The Lorde Walonne and the lord Ligny with bastarde Emery and there bend to the number of IIII. C. horsmen severed them selves and stode a syde from the Englishmen: so then theenglishmen were but VII. C. yet they with banner displaid removed up to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with sir Jhon Gilford a C. tall archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchmen. Now on the toppe of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the left hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falow felde. The lord Walonne and the burgonions kepte them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standardes displaid. Then came to the capitaines of Theenglishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clareuseux and saide,

in Gods name set forward, for the victory is youres for I se by them, they will not abyde, and I wyll go wyth you in my coat of armes. Then the horsemen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all a long a village side called Bomy : the Frenchmen came on wyth XXXIII. standardes displayed and the archers shot a pace and galled their horses, and the English speares set on freshly crieng sainct George, and fought valyantly with the Frenchmen and threw done their standarde, the dust was greate and the crye more, but sodaynly the Frenchmen shocked to their standarde and fled and threw awaye their speres, swerdes and mases and cut of the bardes of their horses to ronne the lighter, when the hinder part saw the former flye, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the Englysh horsemen mounted up the hil, the stradiates were commynge doune wardes on the one syde of the hill before the French host, which sodainly saw the banners of the Englysh horsemen, and the kinges battayl folowyng upwarde, wening to them that all had bene horsemen, then thei cast them self about and fledde, the Frenchmen wer so fast in array that the stradiates could have no entre, and so they ran stil by thendes of the ranges of the French army : and when they behinde saw the fall of their standardes and their stradiates in whome they had greate confidence retorne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then up pranced the Burgonions and folowed the chace ; thys battayle was of horsmen to horsmen but not in egal number, for the Frenchmen wer tenne to one, whyche had not bene sene before tyme, that the Englyshe horsmen gatt the vycторыe of the men of armes of Fraunce. The Frenchemen call this battaylle the journey of Spurs

because they ranne away so fast on Horsbacke. Thys battayll was the xvi. daye of Auguste, in the whyche battayle was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Earle of Dunoys whyche had maryed the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the lorde Cleremounde and manye other noble men to the number of twelve skore and all broughte to the kynges presence, and lykewise al the standardes and banners were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame wente that Mounsire de la Palayce was by then taken and lett go. Thenglishemen folowed the chace thre mile longe, from the felde to a water in a valaye, and there a Frenche man sayde to Sir Gyles Capell, that one daye they woulde have a daye, whyche aunswered hym agayne in Frenche that it was a bragge of Fraunce and so the Englishmen returned to the kyng, whyche was commynge forwarde who gave them thanks wyth great praysynges for the valyantnes, and there he made Sir Jhon Pech Banneret and made Jhon Car knight whyche was sore hurte, and Sir Jhon Peche had hys guyd home taken and divers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre.

## 7. THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN

[*Chronicles of Scotland* by ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE]

While Henry VIII was engaged in the war in Picardy, king James IV of Scotland as an ally of France invaded the north of England. The Scottish army, in a very strong position on Flodden Edge, was delivered into the hands of the English army by a blunder for which James alone was responsible, and the battle proved one of the most disastrous in the annals of Scotland.

Be this the watchman schew the king that the  
Inglish armie was cuming near vnto him, within the

space of ane Scottis myll. Then the king commandit irfullie and furiouslie to sound his trumpettis, and put his men in ordour of batell: to witt, he gave the vangaird to my lord Huntlie, and to my lord Home, who war in number aucht thousand men, and took the great battell to himself; with all the wholl nobilitie of Scotland, who exceeded not twentie thousand men; and merched forward ane litle in the sight of the Inglisch armie, who war then cuming over the bridge to thame. Then the maister gunner cam to the king on his knies, desiring licence to schott his ordinance at the Inglisch armie, quhill they war cuming over the bridge of Lyl, quhair he promised, vnder the paine of deid, that he sould cutt the bridge, quhair the greattest prease of the Inglis armie was; for he said he had stelled his cannones for that effect, and thairby sould destroy and droun the most pairt of thame. The king answeired this gunner, Robert Borthwick, lyk to ane man bereft of all witt and judgement, saying, "I sall caus hang the and quarter the if thou schott a schott this day, for I will have thame all in plaine feildis befoir me, and assay thame, quhat they can doe." Be this the Inglis men war all cum over the bridge, and the vangairdis war near marching togidder, and the trumpettis soundit, and the vangairdis joyned, to witt the earle of Huntlie and the lord Home, with borderis and countrie men to the number of aucht thousand men, and on the other syd, the Inglis vangaird, quhairin was my lord Pearce and my lord Westmoreland, with all the hail bordereris and countrie men thairof, in lykmaner. Quhilk pairties joyned with ane terrible and cruel reard, and great slaughter maid on both the sydis at the first assault. The bowmen, and they with tuo handit swordis, defendit thamselffis verrie manfullie, who

war in the earle of Huntlie and the lord Hoomes companie. Yitt nevirtheles be sound of trumpett they retired verrie warrlie, with little skaith, to thair standart againe. Be this the tua great battelis of England cam fordward vpon the king and his battell, and joyned verrie awfullie, and fought verrie furiouslie, ane lang time, bot at the last the kingis host defenced the tuo armies, and pat thame back.

Then the great battell of England, led be the lord Howard, who was vnder his father the earle of Surrey governour of that battell, who cam furiouslie vpon the king againe, with tuentic thousand fresch fightand men, and the kingis battell met thame, and encountered them verrie hardlie, and fought verrie cruellie a long space, with vncertaine victorie, quhill the streames ran with blood quhair they war. The earle of Huntlie and the lord Home standing in arrayed battell, who had wone the vangaird befor, and verrie few aither hurt or slaine of thame, the earle of Huntlie desired my lord Home, that he would reskue the king in his extremitie, sieing he was oversett with multitudes of men. Bot the lord Home answeired, "He does weill that does for himselff, for we have foughten our vangaird and wone the same, and thairfoir latt the rest doe thair pairtis as weill as we have done." The earle of Huntlie said again, "he could not sie his native prince to be overcum with his enemies befor his eyne"; for his awin pairt, thairfoir, he called his men togidder by slughorne, and sound of trumpet, to have passed to the king, bot or he cam all was defaitt, and verrie few alyve, aither of the kingis syd, or his enemies. Some sayes, thair cam four great men vpon hors and every ane of thame had ane wisp vpon thair spear headis, quhairby they might know

otheris the sooner, if they happened to be separat, and brought the king furth of the feild, vpoun ane dun hakney: and sum sayes they had him in the Mers betuixt Dunse and Kelso. Quhat they did with him I cannot tell. But ten yeires thairefter ane certaine man being conviet of his lyff for slaughter, offered to the duik of Albanie to latt him sic the place quhair the king was buried, and for the greater evidence, his yron belt besyd him in the grave. Bot this man goot no audience be thame that was about him, and the duik of Albanie desired not that sick things should be knawin. Bot we will returne to our purpose.

The feildis being discomfited in this maner on both sydes: for nather England nor Scotland knew who had the victorie at that tyme, except the Scottismen tint<sup>1</sup> thair king, who may be justlie said to have tint himself, throw his awin raschnes and greater foolhardnes nor was requisit in a king: for the Inglismen war rekoned to be thryse als manie in number as the Scottismen, and so manie of thame as war left alyve, retired thamsellis to the earle of Surrey and the lord Howard his sone: and retired that night ane little from the feild, and fled that night on their foottes, quhill on the morne at nyne houris, not knawing who had wone or tint the feild. And in lyk maner, the lord Home stood all that night on his foott, quhill on the morne, with aught thousand men with him: and on the morne he hearing no din nather of Scottismen nor Inglismen, he departed and left the kingis artillarie in the feildis behind him, quhilk he might have reskued and brought with him if he pleased.

The Inglismen hearing that the lord Home was

<sup>1</sup> lost.



Flodden Field

retired, they conveyed the number that they might be, and had away the kinges artillarie with thame to Barvick, quhair meikle of it remaines to this day ; and syne they can throw the feild seiking thair noble and principall men that war slaine, and to have spyed if they could not have seine the king of Scotland. Bot they could not find him, albeit they fand sundry in his luferay<sup>1</sup> ; for the same day of the feild he caused ten to be in his awin luferay, lyk vnto his awin present apperrell, amonges quhom was tuo of his awin guard : the on called Alexander M'Cullo, and the vther the squyer of Cleisch, who was both verrie lyk in makdome to the king ; and so they tuik on of thame, whom they thought lykest to the king, and kest him in ane chariott, and had him with thame into England ; bot trew it is they gott not the king, becaus they had never the tokin of his yron belt to schow to no Scottisman.

This sorrowful battell was striken and endit at Flowdine hill the nyynth day of September the yeir of God 1513 yeires, and of his rigne the twentie fyve yeir.

### 8. THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

The Duke of Buckingham was at the head of the English nobility, and was of royal blood. There was great ill-feeling between him and Cardinal Wolsey. In 1520 Buckingham was charged with treason and unanimously condemned by his peers, though the evidence of his guilt was worthless. The event proved the completeness of the power exercised by Henry VIII; but popular opinion held Wolsey responsible for Buckingham's fall.

In this tyme inquiries were made in divers shyres of Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham beyng prisoner in the

<sup>1</sup> livery.



tower of London, where, by the knightes and gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgenye, the same Lorde was attached for consailement, and the Lord Mountague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And Sir Edward Nevell knight brother to the sayd lorde Aburgenye forbidden the kynges presence.

The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kynges letters patentes high Steward of Englande, to accomplishe the high cause of appple of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne and judge the causes of the pieres, &c.

Wherefore shortly after was made in Westmyenster hall a scaffolde for the Lordes and a presence for a Judge, railed and counter railed about and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Devonshyre, Essex, Shrewisbury, Kent, Oxford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Jhons, Lorde Delaware, Lorde Fitz Warren, Lorde Wylloughby, Lorde Broke, Lorde Cobham, lorde Harbert, and the lorde Morley, satte as Peres and judges upon the same duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Lovell and sir Richard Chomley knightes, brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reverenced the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kynges lerned counsaill. Then the Clarke of the counsaill sayd, sir Edward duke of Buckyngham hold up thy hande, thou art endited of high treason for that thou traitorously hast conspired and ymaged as farre as in thee lay to

shorten the life of our soveraigne lorde and kyng : of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke answered by my Peres.

And when thenditement was openly redde, the duke sayd, it is false and untrue and conspired and forged to bryng me to my death and that wil I prove, allegyng many reasons to falsefy the inditement, and against his reasons the kynges Atturney alleged the examinacions, confessions and proves of witnesses.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my Lorde, the kyng our soveraigne Lorde hath commaunded, that you shall have hys lawes ministred with favor and right to you. Wherfore yf you have any other thinge to say for your selfe you shalbe hard. Then he was commaunded to with drawe him, and so was led into Paradise a house so named. The Lordes went to counsaill a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of Northfolke to the Duke of Suffolke what say you of sir Edward duke of Buckyngham touching the high treasons ? The duke of Suffolke answered, he is giltie, and so sayd the Marques and all the other Earles and lordes : Thus was the prince duke of Buckyngham founde giltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, VII. Erles, and XII. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre sore chafyng and swette mervailously, after he had made his reverence, he paused awhile. The duke of Northfolke as a Judge sayd, sir Edward, you have heard how you be indited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, puttyng yourself to the peres of the realme, the whiche have found you giltie : then the Duke of Northfolke wept and sayd, you shalbe ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a Herdill and so drawen to the place of

execucion, and there to be hanged, cutte doune alive, your membres to be cutte of and cast into the fyer, your bowels brent before you, your head smytten of, and your body quartered and devyded at the kynges will, and God have mercy on your soule. Amen.

The Duke of Buckyngham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you have sayd as a traytor should be sayed unto, but I was never none, but my lordes I nothyng malagne for that you have done to me, but the eternall God forgeve you my death and I do: I shall never sue to the kyng for life howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from hym than I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the axe turned towardes him, and so led into a barge, Sir Thomas Lovell desired him to sytte on the cushyns and carpet ordeined for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to Westminster I was Duke of Buckyngham, nowe I am but Edwarde Bowhen the mooste caitiffe of the worlde. Thus they landed at the temple, where received him sir Nicholas Vawse and Sir William Sandes Baronetes and led him through the Citie, who desired ever the people to pray for him of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is thende of evill life. God forgeve him, he was a proude prince. It is pitie that he behaved him so against his kyng and liege lorde, whom God preserve. Thus aboute IIII. of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Frydaie the XVII. day of Maie, about XL. of the clocke. This duke with a great power was delivered to Jhon Kyeme and Jhon Skeyvngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him.

and al men to pray for him, and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an axe he toke his death, on whose soule Jesu have mercy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body and head and buried them. Alas that ever the grace of truth was withdrawn from so noble a man, that he was not to his kyng in alegeaunce as he ought to have been, suche is thende of ambicion, thende of false prophesies, thende of evill lyfe and evill counsaill.

### 9. CARDINAL WOLSEY

[JOHN SKELTON: *Why come ye nat to court?*]

The next four sections are all concerned with Cardinal Wolsey. The first is a satirical denunciation by the "poet laureate" of the day, who could find no adequate language to express his hate.

Why come ye nat to court?—

To whyche court?

To the kynges court:

Or to Hampton Court?—

Nay, to the kynges court:

The kynges courte

Shulde haue the excellence;

But Hampton Court

Hath the preemynence,

And Yorkes Place,

With my lordes grace,

To whose magnificence

Is all the conflowence,

Sutys and supplycacyons,

Embassades of all nacyons.

. . . . .

He regardeth lordes  
No more than potshordes ;  
He is in suche elacyon  
Of his exaltacyon,  
And the supportacyon  
Of our souerayne lorde,  
That, God to recorde,  
He ruleth all at wyll,  
Without reason or skyll :  
How be it the primordiyall  
Of his wretched originall,  
And his base progeny,  
And his gresy genealogy,  
He came of the sank<sup>1</sup> royall,  
That was cast out of a bochers stall.  
But how euer he was borne,  
Men wolde haue the lesse scorne,  
If he coulde consyder  
His byrth and rowme togeder,  
And call to his mynde  
How noble and how kynde  
To him he hathe founde  
Our souereyne lorde, chyfe grounde  
Of all this prelacy,  
And set hym nobly  
In great auctoryte,  
Out from a low degre,  
Whiche he can nat se :  
For he was, parde<sup>2</sup>,  
No doctor of deuinyte,  
Nor doctor of the law,  
Nor of none other saw ;

<sup>1</sup> sangue, blood.<sup>2</sup> pardieu.

But a poore maister of arte,  
 God wot, had lytell parte  
 Of the quatriuials,  
 Nor yet of triuials,  
 Nor of philosophy,  
 Nor of philology,  
 Nor of good pollycy,  
 Nor of astronomy,  
 Nor acquaynted worth a fly  
 With honorable Italy,  
 Nor with royall Ptholomy,  
 Nor with Albumasar,  
 To treate of any star  
 Fyxt or els mobyll;  
 His Latyne tonge dothe hobbyll,  
 He doth but cloute and cobbill  
 In Tullis faculte,  
 Called humanyte;  
 Yet proudly he dare pretende  
 How no man can him amende:  
 But haue ye nat harde this,  
 How an one eyed man is  
 Well syghted when  
 He is amonge blynde men?

They wot not whether to go.  
 No man dare come to the speche  
 Of this gentell Iacke breche,  
 Of what estate he be,  
 Of spirituall dygnyte,  
 Nor duke of hye degre,  
 Nor marques, erle, nor lorde;  
 Whiche shrewdly doth accorde,

Thus he borne so base  
All noble men shoulde out face,  
His countynauce lyke a kayser.  
My lorde is nat at layser ;  
Syr, ye must tary a stounde,  
Tyll better layser be founde ;  
And, syre, ye must daunce attendaunce  
And take pacient sufferauce,  
For my lordes grace  
Hath nowe no tyme nor space  
To speke with you as yet.  
And thus they shall syt,  
Chuse them syt or flyt,  
Stande, walke, or ryde,  
And his layser abyde  
Parchaunce halfe a yere,  
And yet neuer the nere.

## 10. THE FALL OF CARDINAL WOLSEY

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

Wolsey procured a commission from the Pope for a court consisting of himself and another papal legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to try the question of the validity of Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, Katharine of Aragon. Before the proceedings of the Court were closed, the Pope suspended it, and called the case to Rome for judgment. Wolsey, having failed to carry out Henry's wishes, was flung from his high estate.

When the nobles and prelates perceived, that the kings favor was from the Cardinal sore minished, everye man of the kynges counsail, beganne to laye to hym suche offences, as they knewe by hym, and all their accusacyons were written in a boke, and all their handes sett to it, to the nombre of thirtie and foure

which boke they presented to the kyng. When the kyng saw the boke, he marveyled not a litle for by the Artycles conteigned in the same, he evidently perceived the high pride and coveteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openlye wyth what dyssymulacion and clokyng, he had handeled the kinges causes: how he with faire liyng wordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, agaynste hym, but yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the kyng rode on his progresse wyth the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Nativitie of oure Lady he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanely received, sayng that the kyng made to them good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the sayd Campeius toke his leave of the king, and then the kyng him conveighed to the chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinal of Yorke also went with his companion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng, which was then ridyng out on hunting, and sent him worde by Henry Norreys, that he should accompaignie Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would more sommen with hym: thus almost dismaied the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his companion to Tocester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Campeius, wer delivered great rewardes, and so he toke his journey toward the sea side. Where the kynges counsayl, caused his chestes and cariages to be opened, to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, and ther wer but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found, old



hosen, old coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man wold cary to have it, which serch much displeased Campeius, and the more because his coffers wer likewise opened in chepe by the rashenes of a Moyle, as you heard in the tenth yere of this kyng.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the crafty Cardinall Campeius, leavyng behynd him hys subtle felowe, whiche after their departinge from the kyng at Grafton, never sawe the kyng, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was communed of through Christendome, and in especyall in Spain, and other the Emperors Dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should bee divorced from the kyng: and surely the most part of the laye people of Englande, which knew not the lawe of God, sore murmured at the matter and much the more, because there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, doughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde whom the kyng much favoured in all honestie, and surely none otherwyse, as al the world wel knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and servauntes largely spake and said that she so entyce the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be divorced from his Quene, this was the foolishe comunicacion of people, contrary to trueth, as you have heard declared before.

The kyng whiche after twentie yere past, had bene ruled by other, and in especial by the Cardinal of Yorke, began now to be a ruler, and a kinge, yea, a kyng of suche wytte, wisdom, and pollicie, that the lyke hath not reigned over this realme, as you shall playnly perceyve here after, as well for the setting forth

of true Doctryne, as also for the augmentacion of his Crowne. For when he perceived, howe the Cardinalles



Cardinal Wolsey

had handeled hym, and saw playnly that the lawe of God was clere that he myght not mary his brothers wyfe, he thoughte to sende hys Ambassadours to all

the Universities in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe their determinacions and for that cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and Doctor Fore, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall hear after declared when the matter serveth.

The king continually studyng on this matter called a counsayl of the chief of the nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first daye of October next ensuing, and also somoned a Parliament, to begin the third day of November, then immediatly folowyng, and declared that the same counsail, should advise diverse actes, necessarye and nedefull to bee passed at the sayd Parliament, for reformacion of certain exaccions done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsail and Parliamente, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whych muche comforted hym, that he outwardly litle abashed: and so he and al the counsail, came to the counsail chamber at Westminster, and ther diverse dayes, communed of diverse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinal shewed himself, much more humbler, than he was wont to be, and the lordes shewed themselves more hygher and straunger, then thei wer wont to bee, but for al that he abashed not his countenance but came into Westminster hal with al his trayne, the first day of the Terme, but none of the kynges servauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lordes and other the kynges counsail, wer gone to Wyncore to the Kyng, where they enformed the kyng, that all thinges that he had done almoste by hys power Legatine, were in the case of the Premunire and Provyson: and that the Cardinal had forfected, al his landes, tenementes,

goodes and catelles to the kyng : wherfore the kyng willyng ordre to him, accordyng to the ordre of hys lawes, caused hys attorney Christopher Hales, to sue out a writte of Premunire agaunst him, in the whiche he lycensed hym, to make an attorney.

And farther the seventene day of November he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke to hys place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of Englande, whiche he was loth to delyver, yf there had bene any remedy, but in conclusion he delivered it, to the two Dukes, whych delivered the same to Doctor Tailor Maister of the Rolles, to cary it to the kyng, which so did the next day : and beside this the kyng, sent sir William Fitz William knyght of the Garter, and Thresorer of hys house, and Doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to see that no goodes shuld be embesiled out of hys house ; and farther ordeined that the Cardinal should remove to Ashire beside Kyngston, there to tary the kinges pleasure, and to have all thinges delivered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his olde pompeous and superfluous fashion. For all his goodes wer seized to the kinges use. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many Earles Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the XIX. day of October, when the duke of Norffolk declared that the kynges hyghnes, for diverse and sondry offences, had taken from hym his greate Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and leaste menne might complayn for lacke of justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lordes, to sit in the Starre Chamber, to hear and determin causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kinges pleasure

and commaundement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from anye rewardes takyng, or main-tenaunce, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber, and determined causes.

On a day of the same moneth the Cardinall removed out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse sayyng, that he would he had never borne more, meauing that by hys crosse, that he bare as legate which degre taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there toke his horse and rode to Ashur, where he remaigned til Lent after.

During which tyme, he beyng called on for an answere in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for geuyng benefyces by prevensyon, in disturbaunce of mens enherytaunce, and diverse other causes in the premunire, he according to the kynges licence, constituted Jhon Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the lawe his attorneys, which by his owne warrant signed wyth hys hande, confessed all thinges concerning the said suite, for they wer to open to be cloked or hidden, and so judgement was geven, that he shuld forfeit al his landes, tenementes, goodes and catelles, and should sent him a sufficient proteccion: and of his gentlenes left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Wynchester, and gave to him plate and stuffe, convenient for his degre, and the bishoprike of Duresme he gave to doctor Tunstal bishop of London, and the abbey of saynt Albones he gave to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Doctor Jhon Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Universities, for the kinges mariage, as you have heard before. For all these kyndnes shewed to the Cardinall, yet stil he malagned against

the kyng, as you shall perceyve hereafter, by his untrue doynges, which brought him to confusyon.

The twenty and thre day of October, the kyng came to his Manor of Grenewich, and there much consulted wyth his counsayl, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualltie, and so after long debate the kyng resoluted him self upon sir Thomas More knyght, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre, a manne well learned in the toungues, and also in the Common Lawe whose wytte was fine, and full of imaginacions, by reason wherof, he was to muche geven to mockinge, whyche was to his gravitie a great blemishe. And then on the Sondag, the twentie and foure daye of the same moneth, the kyng made hym hys Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before him.

## 11. THOMAS CROMWELL, ON THE FALL OF WOLSEY

[GEORGE CAVENDISH: *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*]

Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's secretary, became Henry's right-hand man not long after Wolsey's fall.

It chanced me upon All-hallow day to come there into the Great Chamber at Asher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a Primer in his hand, saying of our Lady mattins; which had been since a very strange sight. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade good morrow. And with that I perceived the tears

upon his cheeks. To whom I said, "Why Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus? or is it for any loss that ye have sustained by any misadventure?"

"Nay, nay," quoth he, "it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." "Why, sir," quoth I, "I trust ye be too wise, to commit any thing by my lord's commandment, otherwise than ye might do of right, wherof ye have any cause to doubt of loss of your goods." "Well, well," quoth he, "I cannot tell; but all things I see before mine eyes, as it is taken; and this I understand right well, that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake; and surely without just cause. Howbeit, an ill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had any promotion by my lord to the increase of my living. And thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to London and so to the court, where I will either make or mar, or I come again. I will put myself in prease, to see what any man is able to lay to my charge of untruth or misdemeanour." "Marry, sir," quoth I, "in so doing, in my conceit, ye shall do very well and wisely, beseeching God to be your guide, and send you good luck, even as I would myself." And with that I was called into the closet, to see and prepare all things ready for my lord, who intended that day to say mass there himself: and so I did.

## 12. THE LAST DAYS OF CARDINAL WOLSEY

[CAVENDISH]

Wolsey was allowed to retire to the province of York, of which he was archbishop. But within the year a charge of treason was brought against him. On his way to London, under arrest, he died at Leicester Abbey.

Then was he in confession the space of an hour. And when he had ended his confession, Master Kingston bade him good-morrow (for it was about seven of the clock in the morning); and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands." "Not yet so, sir," quoth Master Kingston, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheer." "Master Kingston, my disease is such that I cannot live; I have had some experience in my disease, and thus it is: I have a flux with a continual fever; the nature whereof is this, that if there be no alteration with me of the same within eight days, then must either ensue excoriation of the entrails or frenzy, or else present death; and the best thereof is death. And as I suppose, this is the eighth day: and if ye see in me no alteration, then is there no remedy (although I may live a day or twaine), but death, which is the best remedy of the three." "Nay sir, in good faith," quoth Master Kingston, "you be in such dolor and pensiveness, doubting that thing that indeed ye need not to fear, which maketh you much worse than ye should be." "Well, well, Master Kingston," quoth he, "I see the matter against me how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs.



Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service ; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. Wherefore I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal majesty ; beseeching him in my behalf to call to his most gracious remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world unto this day, and the progress of the same : and most chiefly in the weighty matter yet depending ; (meaning the matter newly began between him and good Queen Katherine) then shall his conscience declare, whether I have offended him or no. He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart ; and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite : but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you be one of his privy counsel, as for your wisdom and other qualities ye are meet to be, I warn you to be well advised and assured what matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again.

“And say furthermore, that I request his grace, in God’s name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such sort, as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them.....

“Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth fast.

I may not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much better.”

And even with these words he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail; his eyes being set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then we began to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion; and sent for the abbot of the place to anneal him, who came with all speed, and ministered unto him all the service to the same belonging; and caused also the guard to stand by, both to hear him talk before his death, and also to witness of the same; and incontinent the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up the ghost, and thus departed he this present life. And calling to our remembrance his words, the day before, how he said that at eight of the clock we should lose our master one of us looking upon an other, supposing that he prophesied of his departure.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancy of such men, exalted by fortune to honours and high dignities; for I assure you, in his time of authority and glory, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings that then lived, having more respect to the worldly honour of his person than he had to his spiritual profession; wherein should be all meekness, humility and charity; the process whereof I leave to them that be learned and seen in divine laws.

## CHAPTER VII

### FROM THE FALL OF WOLSEY TO THE MARIAN PERSECUTION

#### AUTHORITIES CITED.

- (1) HALLE and PITSCOTTIE. See Chapter VI.
- (2) JOHN KNOX, 1505?-1572, the great leader of the Scottish Reformation, wrote a *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, in which he became so prominent an actor, without any pretence of impartiality. He regarded the two Scottish disasters recorded in the excerpts as victories for the Reformation.
- (3) JOHN FOXE, 1516-1587, was an extreme Protestant. His *History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church* is commonly known as "Foxye's Book of Martyrs." He was a perfectly honest historian in intention, but was not an impartial judge of evidence.
- (4) The two letters of Thomas Cromwell are reprinted by the kind permission of the Oxford University Press, from the *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* by Mr R. B. Merriman.

#### 1. THOMAS CROMWELL TO HENRY VIII: CON- CERNING CERTAIN FRIARS OBSERVANTS

[RECORD OFFICE PAPERS]

The orders of Friars were especially hostile to the proceedings against Katharine of Aragon and the anti-papal policy which Henry was beginning to adopt openly three years before the final rupture in 1533, which had taken place when this letter was written. Before that date also, Cromwell held the first place in the king's confidence. The Nun of Kent was an impostor who in trances denounced Heaven's vengeance on the promoters of the "divorce." The Merchants of the Staple were a great trading company with whom Cromwell was driving a bargain.

Please it your highnes to be aduertised that vppon  
myn arryuayle at London I receyued certen letteres out

of the North directed vnto your grace from the lorde Daere. Which I haue sent to your maiestee herein closed with also certen letteres and Newes sent vnto me from my Lorde Deputie of Calays. And touching the Freres obseruantes that were with the prynces dowagier, being subtillic conueyed from thens were first espied at Ware by suche espialles as I leyd for that purpose, and hauyng good awayte leyd vppon them were from thens dogged to London, and there (notwithstanding many wyles and cauteles by them invented to escape) were taken and deteyned till my cummyng home. So as vppon my arryuayle here I called them before me and vppon examynacion of them couled gather nothing of anye momente or grete importaunce, but entring into ferther communcacion founde the one of them a veray sedyicious person, and so commytted them vnto warde where they now do remayne till your gracious pleasure knowen. Ymmedyatelie afterwarde repayred vnto me the warden of the grey Freres of Grenewich who semeth veray desirous to haue the punycion of the saide two Freres, being named Hugh Payne and Cornelius, and made grete intercession vnto me to haue them delyuered vnto him, shewing vnto me ferther that the mynyster and generall Commyssarie of this prouynee of Englonde had made out certeyne commaundementes vnto the said Freres willing them by vertue of obedience to repayre vnto him to Rychemont to thintent they wold haue the correction of them accordingle. Which commaundementes being conteyned in certen mynutes of paper I haue sent to your grace here in closed. It semeth assuredlie that the saide mynyster is a right honest and discrete person and Fayne wolde haue prevented and taken the saide Freres if he coule by any meanes.

Beseching your grace that I may knowe your gracious pleasure Whether I shall kepe and deteyne them in warde and bring them with me at my repayre to the courte, or Whether your grace will haue them sent ymmedyatelie to any other place or what other direction to be taken therein as shall and may stonde with your high pleasure. It is vndoubted that they haue intended and wolde confesse sum grete matier if they might be examyned as they ought to be that is to sey by paynes, for I perceyue the saide Hugh Payne to be a subtile felowe and muche gyuen to sedycyon.

I haue also eftsones sent vnto my lorde of Caunterbury according to your gracious commaundement touching the dissymuled holynes and superstitious demeanures of the Ipocryte Nunne, And haue declared your gracious pleasure vnto the Staple whom in maner I do Fynde agreable to all thinges according to your graces demaunde sauynge onelie they as yet requyre lenger dayes for the payment of the some of x m. pounds by them now graunted, and also fermely requyre that your highnes will graunt them their house for a reasonable somme of money yerlie, which I do stycke with them in, and as to morowe they will gyve me a resolute answer in the hole.

And thus I shall daylie pray vnto almightie god for the prosperous conseruacion of your royall maiestee in long lif and good helth felyciouslie to indure, at London the xxiii day of Julie. Your highnes most humble subiectte and seruauant

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

## 2. THOMAS CROMWELL TO HENRY VIII

*Concerning the Nun of Kent and other matters*

[RECORD OFFICE PAPERS]

In this letter, the "princess dowager" is Katharine, and the "holy maid" is the Nun.

Pleasythit your Royall magestye to be aduertysyd how that reparyng homwardes oone of my lorde chauncelers seruaunttes met with me and delyuerid me your warrauntes Signyd with the hande of the prynces dowager which warrauntt I do send to your grace herin Inclosyd what your plesure shalbe to haue done therin being ons known I shall right gladlye accomplyshe I haue also Sythyn my repayre to London spokyn with Freer Lawraunce who hathe Sethens his Repayre to London herde dyuers thinges touching the holye mayde which he wyll declare to your hygnes and to non other and he Shewyth me also that therbe ij strange Freers of the order of obseruanttes latelye repayed into this Realme which ij Freers haue exploryd here For all suche bokes centeneyes and determynacyons as hathe passyd touching your hygnes Matrymonye, which they Intend with other pryvey practysys to Convey with them, to Freer Petow who as I am Credublye Informyd Sent them into this your Realme the sayd ij Freers as I am acertaynyd haue brought with them pryuy letteres to dyuers and now bene gone to the sayd dowager, in my poore oppnyon it shalbe right well done that thaye might be sent for by some trustye person howbeit yt were best that theye Fyrste sholde be sufferyd to speke with her and suche other of hers as wolde peradventure delyuer to them anything whereby theyr Ferther practysys myght be persayuyd and so thayr Cankeryd

Intenttes myght be therbye dyscyfferyd. I am also Infformyd that there ys A merchant of London whiche dothe praetyse with them ine thes premysees I shall goo veray nere to haue knowlage therein yf it be trew he ys worthy to Suffer to make other beware in tyme and the sonner the better. I trust your highnes wyll by this berer aduertise me in wrytyng what shalbe your plesure touching as well the sayd Falls Freers as also towching of the sayd dowager's warranttes. I haue also Sent to your grace one aquytance to be assigned for the xxiiij thousande Crowns dew to your highnes for the resedew of the emperowrs dett and also A warrant to your chanceler for the Sealyng of the same which warrantt and acquytance it may please your magesty to assigne and to send the same by this berer to the Intent Robert Fowler may be depechyd. The rest of the acquytaunces for your ordynarye pencyon and Sale ben allredye Signed and Sealyd. and this the Hollye trynyte to whom I shall contenewallye praye to preserue your highnes in long lif and most prosperous helthe and send the same the vycторыe with honour over all your Enemyes.

### 3. MARTYRS FOR CONSCIENCE

[*HALL's Chronicle*]

Henry VIII prided himself on his orthodoxy and sanctioned the burning of "heretics." The martyrs in the first part of this section were all condemned for denying the accepted doctrine of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The martyrs in the second part were in effect put to death for their loyalty to the doctrine that the Pope is the spiritual head of the Church, which cannot be subject to any secular supremacy. In theory they were held guilty of treason for refusing to acknowledge Henry as Supreme Head of the Church in England.

The XIII. day of July one Jhon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly witte, was brought out of the Tower wher he had been long, and was there imprisoned for makynge of a booke agaynst purgatory : but in the meane whyle that he was there, he was required by one who heartily loved him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, and that he would put the same in writing, whiche thynge he dyd. But after it chaunced that the same persone which had this writynge of Jhon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London call Wyllyam Holt, whiche outwardely professed muche honestye, but inwardly was a verye spye and a very betrayer of as many menne as he might bring in daungier. This Holt required after he had seen it, to have this writing, and he had it, and forth with he presented it to sir Thomas More then lorde Chauncelor, and he immediatly made answer to the same in writynge, which also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Jhon Frith. Jhon Frith then perceivynge that the thing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, sayng suche that he as much trusted as hym selfe) was nowe so farrespred abroad that it was answered unto, after he had not a litle rebuked the negligence and folye of his frende whom he trusted, stode to the defence of his first treatise, and made further declaracion of his mynde upon the same matter as appereth in a booke whiche beareth his name. For the whiche opinion with other he was after divers and sondry examinacions (as well at Lambeth with the Bishop of Cauntorbury as also at Croydon, and likewise with the bishoppe of Wynchester) brought unto the



Consistory in Paules Church in London before divers bishoppes, where after much disputing, for that he would not yelde nor submit himselfe to them, they condempned him and delivered hym to the seculer power to be brent as an heretike.

At the same time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and utterly unlearned young man a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the aforesayd Holt : This yonge man beyng in lyke maner accused in the Consistory before the sayd bishoppes for holding opinion agaynst the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleved in the Sacrament ? he answered, he beleved therein as Master Frith did : why sayd they, doest thou not beleve that it is the very body of Christ really fleshe and bloud even as he was borne of the virgyn Mary ? No sayd he, why so sayd the Byshop ? because sayd he, that Christ byd me that I should not beleve them that say here is Christ and there is Christe, for false Christes and false prophetes shall arise to deceive you sayth Christ. Then certayn of the byshoppes smyled, and Doctor Stokesley then Byshop of London sayd : Frith is an heretike and is condempned and delivered to the temporal power to be brent, yf thou wilt not submit thyselfe and acknowlege thyne errour, thou shalt likewise be condempned and delivered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abjure thyne heresie quoth the bishop ? No sayd he, for I wyll do as Mayster Frith doth. Then we will condempne thee sayd the Bysshop : do so sayd he. And so they pronounced sentence on him, and delivered hym to the Shiriffes : and from thence they were sent to Newgate where they remayned tyll the xxii. day of July, and that daye were both brent at one stake in Smythfelde. Where at the

same tyme one doctor Cooke which was person of Hony Lane, and one that was the Master of the Temple, willed the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche uncharitable wordes Frith smyled and prayed God to forgeve them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saynge.

The XIX. day of June was thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quated at Tyborne and their quarters set up about London for denyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Church. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemere, and Nudigate. These men when they were arregn'd at Westminster, behaved them selves very stiffly and stubbornly, for hearyng their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Majestie his crowne and dignitee, they neyther blushed nor bashed at it, but very folishly and hipocritically knowleged their treason whiche maliciously they avouched, havyng no lernyng for their defence, but rather beyng asked divers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinkyng as by their examinacions afterwarde in the Tower of London it dyd appeare, for so they sayd, that they thought those men whiche was the Lord Crumwell and other that there satte upon them in judgement to be not worthy to be either answered or spoken unto. And therefore as they deserved, they received as you have heard before.

Also the XXII. day of the same moneth Jhon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set upon London bridge. This bishop was of a very many menne lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therein

wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the pope to be the supreme head of the Church, and very maliciously refused the kynges title of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him and stode so stifly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as farre as Caleys, but the head it should have stande on, was as high as London bridge or ever the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, and then it was to late, and therefore he neither ware it nor enjoyed his office. This man as I sayd was accounted learned yea, and that very notably learned, and yet have you heard howe he was deceived with Elizabeth Barton that called herself the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that usurped authoritie the more pitie: wonderful it is that a man beyng lerned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proveth the supreme authoritie of princes so manyfestly. Also the vi. day of Julye was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehersed, which as you have heard was for the denyng of the kynges Majesties supremitie. This manne was also counted learned, and as you have heard before he was lorde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the supremacy of the byshop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly favored that he stode to it till he was brought to the Skaffold on the Tower hyll where on a blocke his head was striken from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I shulde call him a foolish wyseman, or a wise foolishman, for undoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so myngled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it semed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel

spoken, except he had ministred some mocke in the communicacion, insomuche as at his comyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his upper garment for his fee, meanyng his goune, and he answered, he should have it, and tooke him his cappe, sayng it was the uppermoste garment that he had. Lykewise, even



Sir Thomas More

goyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called to him and besought him to declare that he had certaine evidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreate she might have them agayn, or els she was undone. He answered, good woman have pacience a litle while, for the kyng is good

unto me that even within thys halfe houre he wyll discharge me of all busynesses, and helpe thee hymselfe. Also when he went up the stayer on the Skaffold, he desired one of the Shiriffes officers to geve him his hand to helpe him up, and sayed, when I coume doune againe, let me shift for my selfe aswell as I can. Also the hangman kneled doune to hym askynge him forgiveness of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayed I forgeve thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honestie of the strykyng of my head, my necke is so short. Also even when he should lay doune his head on the block, he havynge a great gray beard, striked out his beard and sayd to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the block least ye should cut it. Thus wyth a mocke he ended hys lyfe.

#### 4. THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

[*HALL's Chronicle*]

In 1536, alarm at Henry's ecclesiastical policy—the lesser monasteries had just been suppressed—came to a head. There was a great rising in the Northern counties known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The insurgents, who were kept under admirable discipline by their leader Robert Aske, were cajoled into dispersing. Afterwards, when some of them, finding that they had been tricked, rose in arms, a heavy vengeance was exacted.

In the time of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempne convocacion at Paules church in London where after much disputacion and debating of matters they publyshed a booke of religion intituled, Articles devysed by the kyngs highnes etc. In thys booke is specyally mencioned but thre Sacramentes, wyth the whiche the

Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) wer offended, and of that occasion depraved the kynges doynge. And this was the first beginninge, as after ye shall playnly heare.

After this boke which passed by the kinges auctoritie wyth the consent of the Clergie, was published, the which contayned certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught unto the people, and amonge other it specially treated of no more than thre Sacramentes, and besyde this boke, certaine Injunccions were that tyme geven wherby a number of their holy daies was abrogated and specially such as fel in the harvest tyme, the keynge of whych was muche to the hynderaunce of the gatherynge in of corne, haye, fruyte, and other such lyke necessary and profitable commodities.

These artycles thus ordayned and to the people delivered. The Inhabitauntes of the North partes being at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether noseled in supersticion and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbottes and ignorant priestes not a litle stirred and provoked for the suppression of certaine Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abolyshynge of the bishoppe of Rome, nowe takynge an occasion at this booke, saiynge see frendes nowe is taken from us foure of the VII. Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lese the other thre also, and thus the fayth of hollye churche shall utterly bee suppressed and abolyshed: and therefore sodaynly they spred abroad and raysed great and shameful slaunders only to move the people to sedition and rebellion, and to kyndle in the people hatefull and malicious myndes agaynste the kynges Majestie and the Magestrates of the realme saiynge let us fully bend our

selves to the maytenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffre it thus to decaye even to dye in the felde.

And amongst them also were to many even of the nobilities that did not a lytle provoke and stirre up the ignoraunt and rude people the more stify to rebell and stand therin, faythfully promysynge them both ayde and succoure agaynst the kynge and their owne native cowntre (lyke foolyshe and wycked menne) thynkyng by their so doing to have done God hygh pleasure and service. There were also certaine other malycyous and busye persones who added Oyle (as the Adage sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in every place wher oportunitie served, that Christian religion should be utterly violate, disspsyed and set a syde, and that rather then so, it behoved and was the partes of everye true Christen manne to defende it to the death, and not to admyt and suffre by anye meanes the fayth (in the whyche their forefathers so longe and so manye thousande yeres have lyved and contynewed) nowe to bee subverted and destroyed. Amonge these were many priestes whyche deceyved also the people wyth manye false fables and venemous lyes and imaginacions (whyche coulde never entre nor take place in the harte of anye good man, nor faythfull subjecte) saiying that al maner of prayer and fastyng and al Goddes servyce shuld utterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length shoulde eate a piece of rost meate, but he should for the same first pay unto the kyng a certayne somme of money, and that they shoulde be brought in more bondage and in a more wycked maner of life, then the Sarasyns be under the great Turk. With these and such other like errours and slaunderous tales, the people

thus instructed (or as I maye trulier speake) deceyved and mocked beyng to lyght of credite, incontinent to the helpe and mainteaunce of religion once establyshed and confirmed, they stilly and stoutly dyd conspire and agre: and in a parte of Lyncolneshire, fyrst thei assembled and shortly after, joyned into an Army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apte and feete for the warre, in nombre aboute twentie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde therof) the kynges royal majestie, in his awne proper persone, furnished with a goodly and warlike Armie, lackynge nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertein, marched towarde them. But these rebelles hearyng that his majestie was present wyth his power and armie royall, feared what woulde folow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before favored them began to withdrawe them selves, so that thei wer destitute of Capitaines: and at the last thei in wrytyng made certayn petitions to the kynges majestie, professynge that they never entended hurte toward hys royall persone. The kynges majestie received there petitions, and made answeare unto them as foloweth.

First we begyn and make answeare to the foure and sixe articles, because upon them dependeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosynge of counsailors, I never have red, hard, nor knowne, that princes counsailors and prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignoraunt common people, nor that thei wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne and chose mete and sufficient counsailors for a prince: how presumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realme, and of the



least experience, to fynd faute with your Prince for the electyng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take upon you contrarie to goddes lawe and mannes lawe to rule youre prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serve wyth both youre lyves, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstand? the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles have attempted and not lyke true subjectes as ye name youre selves. As to the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we wolle that ye and all oure subjectes should well knowe that this is graunted us by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in the same acte of Parliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylors upon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleve.

And where ye allege that the service of god is much diminished, the trouth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where god was well served, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of livyng was used, and that doth wel apere by there awne confessions subscribed with ther awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we neded by the acte) to stand wherein yf thei amend not their livyng, we feare, we have more to answer for then for the suppression of all the rest.

After the Lyncolneshire men had received this the kynges answer aforsayd, made to their petitions, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medelar, even very sodenly thei begin to shrink and out of hand they were divided, and every man at hom in hys awne house in peace; but the capitaines of these

rebelles eskaped not a clere, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved: he that toke upon him as capitaine of this rowte, named hymselfe capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with divers other which afterward were taken and executed.

Al these thinges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all thinges quiet, the kynges majestie retired, and brake up his army.

But se, even within six daies folowyng was the king truly certefied that ther was a new insurreccion made by the Northren men, whyche had assembled themselves into a houghe and great army of warlikemen and wel appoincted both with capitaynes, horse, harneys and artillary to the nombre of fourtie thousande men, whiche had encamped themselves in Yorkshire: And these men had eche of them to other bound them selves by their othe to be faythfull and obedient to his capitayne: they also declared by their proclamacions solemly made, that this their insurreccion, defence of the fayth of Christe and deliveraunce of holy churche sore decaid and oppressed, and also for the furtheraunce aswel of private as publick matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of al the kyngs pore subjectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voiage, an holye and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine banners in the felde, whereupon was painted Christ hangynge on the Crosse on the one syde, and a chalice with a painted kake in it on the other syde, with diverse other banners of like hipocresie and fained sanctitie: the souldiers also had a certain cognisaunce or badge, embroudered or set upon the slevs of their coates, which was the similitude of the fyve woundes of Christ, and in the middest therof was wrytte the

name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Guarryson of Satan with hys false and counterfeated signes of holynes set forth and decked themselves, only to delude and deceyve the simple and ignorant people.

After that the kinges highnes was credibly certefied of this new insurged insurreccion, he makyng no delay in so weightie a matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Erle of Shrewsbury wyth other, accompanied wyth his mighty and royal army, which was of great power and strength, forthwith to set upon the rebelles: but when these noble capitaynes and counsailors approched the rebelles and perceived their nombre and saw how they wer bent to battayl, they practysed wyth great pollecie to have pacefyed al without bloudshedyng, but the Northren men wer so stif-necked that thei wold in nowise stoupe, but stoutlye stode and mayntayned their wycked entrepryse, wherfore the nobles above sayd perceivyng and seyng none other way to pacefye, these wretched rebelles, agreed upon a battayl, the battail was appoincted, and the day was assigned; but, se the same night which was the night before the day of the battail appointed, fel a smal rain nothing to speake of: but yet as it wer by a great myracle of god, the water which was but a very smal forde, and that men in maner the day before might have gone dryshod over, sodenly roase of such a heigth, depnes and bredth that the lyke noman that ther did inhabit could tel that ever thei sawe it so a fore, so that the day, even when the houre of battayll should come it was impossible for the one armie to come at the other.

After this appoyntment made betwene both the

armies (disappointed as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great number of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had lyke to have bene murdered) could take no place. Then by the great wysedom and pollecy of the sayd capitaynes, a comunicacion was had, and a pardon of the kinges Majestie obteyned, for all the capitaynes and chief doers of this insurreccion, and thei promysed that such thynges as they founde themselves agreved wythall they shoulde gently be heard, and there reasonable petitions graunted and that their articles should be presented to the kynges Majestie, that by hys hyghnes authoritie, and wysedome of his counsayl, althinges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and with this ordre every man quietly departed, and those which before wer bent as hote as fyre to fyght beyng letted therof by God, went now peasably to their houses, and were as colde as water. A domino factum est istud.

## 5. THE DEATH OF THOMAS CROMWELL

[*HALL'S Chronicle*]

Thomas Cromwell, having served Henry's turn and established him as an autocrat, was, like Wolsey, struck down. The actual occasion was his error in persuading Henry to marry Anne of Cleves who, on her arrival in England, turned out to be plain and unattractive.

The XIX. day of July, Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Essex, as before you have hard, beyng in the counsail chamber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but more rejoysed, and specially suche, as ether

had been religious men, or favored religious persones, for thei banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wisshyng that that daie had been seven yere before, and some fearyng least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be mery. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely praied for hym: But this is true that of certain of the Clergie, he was detestably hated, and specially of suche as had borne swynge, and by his meanes was put from it, for in deede he was a man, that in all his doynge, semed not to favor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the snoffyng pride of some prelates, which undoubtedly whatsoever els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought unto; which was that the xxix. daie of the saied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and never came to his answeare, whiche lawe many reported, he was the causer of the making therof, but the truthe therof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he died, appereth in the Record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here rehersed, but to conclude he was there attainted of heresy, and high treason. And the xxviii. daie of July was brought to the Skaffold on the tower hill.

## 6. SOLWAY MOSS

[JOHN KNOX : *History of the Reformation in Scotland*]

In 1542, James V of Scotland planned an invasion of England. He gave his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, the command of the invading forces, which were cut to pieces at the fight of Solway Moss. John Knox tells the story from the point of view of an ardent reformer who hated the memory of James; and he makes the victory a much more miraculous affair than it actually was.

Upon the point of day, they approached to the enemy's ground, and so passed the water without any great resistance made unto them. The foray goes forth, fire rises : hership<sup>1</sup> might have been seen on every side. The unprovided people were altogether amazed ; for bright day appearing, they saw an army of ten thousand men, their corn and houses on every side send flames of fire unto the heavens. To them it was more than a wonder that such a multitude could have been assembled and convoyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their wardens : for support they looked not, and so at the first they were utterly despaired. And yet began they to assemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another ; and so as the fray proceeded, their troops increased ; but to no number—for Carlisle fearing to have been assaulted, suffered no man to issue out of their gates, and so the greatest number, that ever appeared or approached before the discomfiture, past not three or four hundred men ; and yet they made hot skirmishing, as, in their own ground, in such feats they are most expert. About ten hours, when fires were kindled, and almost slockened<sup>2</sup> on every side, thought Oliver<sup>3</sup> time

<sup>1</sup> ravaging.

<sup>2</sup> quenched.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver Sinclair.

to show his glory, and so incontinent was displayed the king's banner, Oliver upon spears lift up upon men's shoulders, and there, with sound of trumpet, was he proclaimed general lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the king's own person, under all highest pains. There was present the lord Maxwell, warden, to whom the regimen of things in absence of the king properly appertained; he heard and saw all, but thought more nor he spoke. There were also present the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, with the lord of Fleming, and many other lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus and Mearns. In this meantime did the skirmishing grow greater than it was before; shouts were heard on every side, some Scottish men were stricken down, some not knowing the ground layred<sup>1</sup> and tint<sup>2</sup> their horse. Some English horse of purpose were let loose, to provoke greedy and imprudent men to proik<sup>3</sup> at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While such disorder rose more and more in the army, men cried in every ear, "My lord lieutenant, what will ye do?" Charge was given, that all men should light, and go to array for they would fight it. Others cried, "Against whom will ye fight? you men will fight no other ways than ye see them do, if ye will stand here quhill<sup>4</sup> the morn." New purpose was taken, that the footmen—they had with them certain bands of footmen soldiers—should softly retire towards Scotland, and the horsemen should take their horse again, and so follow in order. Great was the noise and confusion that was heard, while every man called his own sloghorne<sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> were bogged.

<sup>2</sup> lost.

<sup>3</sup> prick, ride.

<sup>4</sup> while, = until.

<sup>5</sup> slogan, war-cry.

day was near spent, and that was the cause of the greatest fear. The lord Maxwell perceiving what would be the end of such beginnings, stood upon his foot with his friends, who being admonished to take his horse, and provide for himself; answered, "Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it shall please God to send me, than to go home, and then be hanged." And so he remained upon his foot, and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the great shame. The enemies perceiving the disorder, increased in courage. Before they shouted, but then they struck. They shot spears, and daggit<sup>1</sup> arrows where the companies were thickest. Some rencounters were made, but nothing availed.

The soldiers cast from them their pikes, culverins, and other weapons fensible; the horsemen left their spears; and so without judgement all men fled. The sea was filling, and so the water made great stop; but the fear was such, so that happy was he might get a taker<sup>2</sup>. Such as passed the water and escaped the danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the Sollen moss; the entry thereof was pleasant enough, but as they proceeded all that took that way either tint their horse, or else themselves and horse both. To be short, a greater fear and discomfiture with out cause has seldom been seen; for it is said, "That where the men were not sufficient to take the hands of prisoners, some ran to houses, and rendered themselves to women." Stout Oliver was taken without stroke, flying full manfully, and so was his glory—stinking and foolish proudness we should call it—suddenly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfiture were taken two earls foresaid, the

<sup>1</sup> showered.

<sup>2</sup> some one to take him prisoner.



lords Fleming, Somerville, and many other barons and gentlemen, besides the great multitude of servants.

Worldly men say, that all this came by disorder and fortune, as they term it. But whosoever has the least spunk of the knowledge of God, may as evidently see the work of his hand in this discomfiture, as ever was seen in any of the battles left to us in register by the Holy Ghost. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought against Benhadad, king of Harem, when he was discomfited at Samaria than that we have that God fought with his own arm against Scotland? In this former discomfiture there did two hundred and thirty persons in the skirmish, with seven thousand following them in that great battle, put to flight the said Benhadad with thirty kings in his company. But here there are, in this shameful discomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without any knowledge of any back or battle to follow, put to flight ten thousand men without any resistance. There did every man rencounter his marrow<sup>1</sup>, till that the two hundred and thirty slew such as matched them; but here without slaughter the multitude fled. There had they of Samaria the prophet of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promise victory unto them; but England, in that pursuit, had nothing but as God secretly wrought by his providence in these men that knew nothing of his working, neither yet of the cause thereof, more than the wall that fell upon the rest of Benhadad's army knew what it did. And therefore, yet again we say, that such as in that sudden dejection behold not the hand of God fighting against pride, for freedom of his

<sup>1</sup> fellow.

own little flock unjustly persecuted, do willingly and maliciously obscure the glory of God.

## 7. SOLWAY MOSS AND AFTER

[HALL'S *Chronicle*]

The English Chronicler, like Knox, reduces the English forces to a very much smaller number than Wharton, the English warden of the Marches, employed against the Scots according to his own report.

The king of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned reysed an army of xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme under the gudyng of the lorde Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bosting to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotland. And so on fridai beyng s. Katheryns even, thei passed over the water of Eske and brent certayne houses of the Greves on the very border. Thomas Bastard Dacres with Jacke of Musgrave sent word to sir Thomas Wharton Wardein for the kyng on the west Marches, to come on to succour them: but the sayd ii. valiaunt Captayns, although the Scottes entered fierly, yet thei manfully and coragiously set on them, with an c. light horse, and left a stale on the side of a hill, where withal the Scottes wer wonderfully dismaide, either thinkyng that the Duke of Norffolke, had been come to the west Marches, with his great army: or els thei thought that some greater armie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with iii. c. men onely. But at that tyme, so God ordeined it to be, that thei at the first bront fled, and thenglish men folowed, and ther wer taken prisoners therles of Casselles, and Glancarne, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the lorde

Flemmyng, the lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphant, the lorde Gray, sir Oliver Senclere, the kynges minion, Jhon Rosse lord of Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles twoo brethren, Jhon Lesley Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo hundred gentlemenne more, and above eight hundred common people, in so muche that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and foure gonnes, foure cartes with speares, and ten pavilions. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heaven, for destruccion of Englande.

The kyng of Scottes tooke a greate thought for this discomfiture, and also because that an Englishe Herauld called Somerset was slain at Dunbarre, whiche thynges together he tooke so unpaciently that he died in a Frenesy. Although many reported that the kyng hymself was at this bickeryng, and there received his deathes wounde, and fled therwith into Scotlande. But howsoever it was, true it is as is aforesaid he died, and the Quene his wife was delivered of a daughter, on our lady Even before Christmas called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesaid twentie and foure of the chief of them, were brought up to the Tower of London, and there were two daies. And on Saincte Thomas daye the Apostle before Christmas, they were solemply conveighed through London to Westminster, where the Kynges counsaill sat, and there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to them their untruthe, unkyndenes, and false dissimulacion, declaryng farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the denyng of their homages, and also for their traiterous invasions

without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subjectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde Lawes of the Marches, for whiche doynges, God as they might perceiue had skourged them : Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to them kyndenes for unkyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might have kept them in straitte prison, by iuste lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei should have libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so entreteigned them that thei confessed theimselfes, never to bee better enterteigned, nor to have had greater chere.

But after their newe gladnes, tidings came to them, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wisshed her in Englande, to bee married to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceiuyng the overture nowe to bee made, whiche waie without warre these twoo realmes might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lackyng, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on saint Stephens daie, where thei wer so wel enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles, that thei saied, thei never sawe kyng but hym, and saied that God was better served here, then in their countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any service of God. And thei promised the kyng, to doo all that in them laie with their frendes to performe asmuche as he required. Whereupon not without greate rewardes, thei departed towarde Scotlande, on Neweyeres daie,

and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Suffolke, who upon hostages delivered them, and so thei entered Scotland and wer well and gladly welcomed.

### 8. THE END OF CARDINAL BEATON

[LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE]

Cardinal Beaton was the leader of the Clerical party in Scotland, a persecutor of the Reformers, and extremely hostile to England. The Reformers looked to England for support, and when they plotted the Cardinal's assassination they had some reason to count on the support of Henry VIII. The Cardinal was murdered as here described, but Henry died very shortly afterwards, and Somerset left them in the lurch.

Bot all thair glorie and pryde was turned to dollour and mischeiff within ane short space, howbeit that day in on vnion againes that puire man quhillk suffered, and in speciall the cardinall and the bishope of Glasgow, wes great that day at that poore mane's martyrdome, lyk as Pilat and Caiaphas wes at the death of Chryst. This martyre of God suffered on this wayes at Sanct Andros, the (first) day of (march) anno forsaide, befor the clergie and vniversitie of Scotland, with many vtheris that saw that man suffer.

Efter this the cursed cardinall passed over to the abbey of Ardbroath, quhair he mett the earle at Crawford, and married his eldest dochter vpoun the maister of Crawford, with great solemnitie. Thairefter he returned to Sanct Andros to his awin castle, quhair he gott word that the Inglich men war preparing ane great navie to cum vpoun the coast of Scotland, to cum and distroy the same, and in speciall about St Andros,

Fyfe, and within that coast: quhair vnto he sett his intent to find remeid, and sent for all the gentlemen that dwelt neir the coast to have thair counsell, and in special the lord of Rothnes, my lord Lindsay, the lairdis of Weimes, Lochlevin, Lundie, Largo, Allerdies, and the laird of St Ninianes, with all vther gentlemen that dwelt neir the coast, should be maid to resist England, and charged thame to be redie at sick ane day as he appoyntit, to ryd with him and visit the said coast.

Bot in this mean tyme Normond Leslie cam to him for certane bussines; bot they fell shortlie in alteration of wordis, quhilkis war vncharitable amongst Christiane men. Notwithstanding, Normond Leslie departed to his ludging that night, quhill on the morne, betwixt four and fyve houres, syne cam down to the castle with his complices, and dang the porter from the yettis, and isched all the place at his pleasour: and Peter Melvill passed vp to the east blokhous chamber, quhair the cardinall lay, and rusched at the doore. The cardinall inquyred, quho? Then they shew their names vnto him, and then he was affrayed, and said to thame, "Will yea slay me?" and they answeired, "No." Then he opined the doore and lett thame in; and als soone as they entered in they stickit him. Then the cry raise in the toun that the cardinall was slaine, and they rane to gett ledderis to ledder the wallis, thinkand that he had beine alive, and to have reskewed him. Bot they that war in the castle laid the cardinall over the wallis to put all men out of doubt, and the people.

Thir novellis cam to the queine and the governour of the cardinallis slaughter, quho was verrie discontentit thairat, and highly commoved at the deid doeriis, and immediatlie summondit thame to find souertie, and

underly the law within the space of six dayes, or elis gang to the horne<sup>1</sup>. Bot the six dayes being past, and no caution fund, they war put to the horne. So they keipit still the castle of Sanct Andros.

## 9. PINKIE CLEUGH

[JOHN KNOX: *History of the Reformation*]

In the first year of Edward VI the Protector Somerset led an army into Scotland to enforce at the sword's point the marriage of the four-year old Queen Mary to the ten-year old Edward VI. The Scots suffered a terrific defeat at Pinkie Cleugh, near Edinburgh, but the Protector failed to achieve his object.

Upon the Saturday, the armies of both sides passed to array. The English army takes the middle part of Faside hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and having their ships and two galleys brought as near the land as water would serve. The Scottish army stood first in a reasonable strength and good order, having betwixt them and the English army the water of Esk, otherwise called Musselburgh water. But at length a charge was given in the governor's behalf, with sound of trumpet, that all men should march forward, and go over the water. Some say, that this was procured by the abbot of Dunfermline, and Mr Hugh Rigg, for preservation of Carberry. Men of judgement liked not the journey; for they thought it no wisdom to leave their strength. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge was given, which urged them so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The earl of Angus being in the vanguard, had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the west land, with

<sup>1</sup> outlawry.

many others that of love resorted to him, and especially those that were professors of the evangel; for they supposed that England would not have made great pursuit of him. He passed first through the water, and arrayed his host direct before the enemies. Followed the earl of Huntly, with his northland men. Last came the duke, having in his company, the earl of Argyle, with his own friends, and the body of the realm. The Englishmen, perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotsmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made haste to prevent the peril. The lord Grey was commanded to give the charge with his men of arms, which he did, albeit the army was very unlikely; for the earl of Angus's host stood even as a wall, and received the first assaulters upon the points of their spears—which were longer than those of the Englishmen—so rudely, that fifty horse and men of the first rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottish army, except that the spears of the former two ranks were broken; which discomfiture received, the rest of the horse men fled; yea, some passed beyond Faside hill. The Lord Grey himself was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he said, "It is alike to run against a wall." The galleys and the ships—and so did the ordnance planted upon the middle hill—shot terribly; but the ordnance of the galleys shooting alongst the Scottish army frayed them gretumlie and while that every man labours to draw from the north, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to reel, and with that were the English footmen marching forward, albeit some of their horsemen were upon the flight. The earl of Angus's army stood still, looking that either the earl of Huntly, or the duke,



should have rencountered the next battle; but they had decreed, that the favourers of England, and the heretics—as the priests called them—and the Englishmen should part it betwixt them for that day.

The fear rises, and at an instant they which before were victors, and were not yet assaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as said is, cast from them their spears and fled: so that God's power was so evidently seen, that in one moment, yea, at an instant time, both the armies were flying. The shout came from the hill, from those that hoped no victory upon the English part; the shout rises, we say, "They fly, they fly"; but at the last it was clearly seen, that all had given back, and then began the cruel slaughter, which was greater by reason of the late displeasure of the men of arms. The chase and slaughter lasted till near Edinburgh upon the one part, and by west Dalkeith upon the other.

The number of slain upon the Scottish side, was near ten thousand men judged.

## 10. THE MARTYRDOM OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER

[*FOXE'S Acts and Monuments*]

Queen Mary began the great persecution of the Protestants eighteen months after she came to the throne. In the first year, 1555, four bishops were burned at the stake, Hooper, Ferrers, Ridley, and Latimer; they were followed in the next year by Archbishop Cranmer.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and alderman, etc.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud over his hose, down to the foot; which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where master Crammer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then master Crammer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then master Ridley, looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said master Latimer "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying master Latimer, with a wonderous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him: and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down to it, kissed it, and most effectuously prayed, and behind him master Latimer kneeled, with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr Smith, of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon

this text of St Paul, "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person : which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that these men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Œcolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst : but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth : the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where as they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant ; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr Ridley said to master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

Then the wicked sermon being ended, Dr Ridley and master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame the vice-chancellor of Oxford and divers other commissioners appointed for that

purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr Marshal. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying, master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to

gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat ; and to divers of my lord William's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger ; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple : and being stripped into his shroud he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see ; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain : and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God" ; and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr Ridley's and master Latimer's middles ; and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have

its course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning master Latimer. "Yea sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime;



Balliol College and the Martyrs' Memorial, Oxford

lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto master Latimer.

In the mean time Dr Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister; I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake to be a mean

to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr Ridley's feet. To whom master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr Ridley saw the fire flaming towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum<sup>1</sup>." And after, repeated this latter part often in English "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit"; master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for

<sup>1</sup> Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord, receive my spirit.

whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God. But master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood ; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper ; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots and often desire them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well ; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (Whereof he had no release, but only his contention in God), he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet ; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed ; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of his nether limbs.



## CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. 1558—1603

### AUTHORITIES CITED.

(1) JOHN KNOX, the great champion of the Reformation in Scotland. He was at the head of the "Preachers"; his *History of the Reformation* in Scotland contains judgments of men and events which are honest, but obviously biassed.

(2) JAMES MELVILLE, in the service of Mary Queen of Scots, was sent as her envoy to Queen Elizabeth when Mary's marriage was in question. His records are contained in his *Memoirs*.

(3) WILLIAM CAMDEN, schoolmaster and antiquary. His *Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* supply the best general Chronicle.

(4) FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM stands beside Lord Burleigh as the ablest of Elizabeth's ministers; the document cited is an authentic letter to the Queen.

(5) WALTER RALEIGH, soldier, sailor, courtier, statesman, and author. Besides recording various exploits of his own, he wrote the story of the *Revenge* out of which Tennyson made his poem.

### 1. JOHN KNOX AND THE QUEEN OF SCOTS

[KNOX: *History of the Reformation*]

Mary Queen of Scots returned from France to Scotland in 1561. She found the government of the country in the hands of the Protestant or Reforming party, at whose head were her half-brother Lord James Stewart, afterwards famous as the Regent Murray, and John Knox the leader of the Scottish Reformation. Knox reports an interview between himself and the queen.

Whether it was by counsel of others, or the queen's own desire, we know not; but the queen spake with

John Knox, and had long reasoning with him, none being present, except the lord James—two gentlemen stood in the other end of the house.....

At these words, the queen stood as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour ; her countenance altered, so that lord James began to entreat her, and to demand, “ what has offended you, madam ! ” At length she said, “ Well, then, I perceive, that my subjects shall obey you, and not me ; and shall do what they list, and not what I command : and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me.” “ God forbid,” answered he [Knox], “ that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to set subjects at liberty to do what pleases them. But my travail is, that both princes and subjects obey God. And think not,” said he, “ madam, that wrong is done unto you, when you are willed to be subject unto God : for, it is he that subjects the people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them ; yea, God craves of kings, that they be, as it were, fosterfathers to his kirk, and commands queens to be nurses unto his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God, and unto his troubled kirk, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth, for it shall carry them to everlasting glory.”

“ Yea,” said she, “ but ye are not the kirk that I will nurse. I will defend the kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the true kirk of God.”.....

“ My conscience,” said she, “ is not so.” “ Conscience, madam,” said he, “ requires knowledge ; and I fear that right knowledge you have none.” “ But,” said she, “ I have both heard and read.” “ So, madam,” said he, “ did the Jews who crucified Christ Jesus, read both the law and the prophets and heard the same interpreted

after their manner. Have ye heard," said he, "any teach, but such as the pope and the cardinals have allowed? And ye may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate." "Ye interpret the scriptures," said she, "in one manner, and they in another; whom shall I believe and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God," said he, "that plainly speaketh in his word: and further than the word teacheth you, you neither shall believe the one nor the other. The word of God is plain; and if there appear any obscurity in any place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places: so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as will remain obstinately ignorant."

"You are oversore for me," said the queen, "but and if they were here whom I have heard, they would answer you." "Madam," said the other, "would to God that the most learned papist in Europe, and he that you would best believe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end; for then, I doubt not, madam, but that ye should hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath within the word of God." "Well," said she, "ye may perchance get that sooner than ye believe." "Assuredly," said the other, "if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come into your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out; for they know that they are never able to sustain an argument, except fire and sword, and their own laws be judges." "So say you," said the queen; "but I believe

that it hath been so to this day." Said he, "For how often have the papists, in this and other realms, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unless themselves were admitted for judges. And, therefore, madam, I must yet say again, that they dare never dispute, but where themselves are both judge and party. And whensoever ye shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

And with that the queen was called upon to dinner, for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox said unto her, "I pray God, madam, that ye may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland—if it be the pleasure of God—as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."

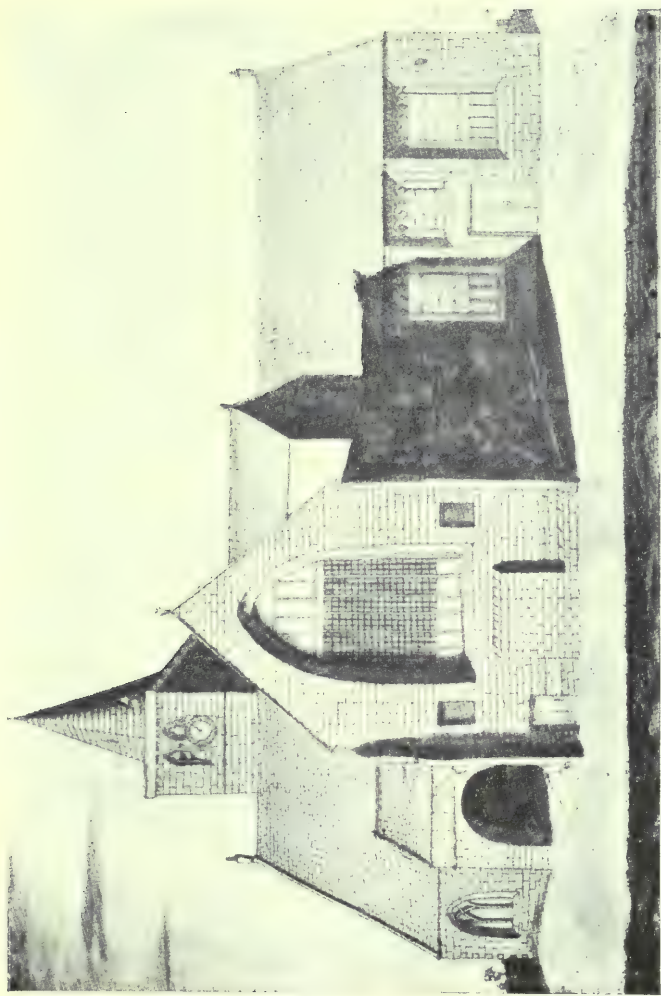
John Knox his own judgment, being by some of his familiars demanded what he thought of the queen, "If there be not in her," said he, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

## 2. QUEEN ELIZABETH (1564)

[SIR JAMES MELVILLE: *Memoirs*]

In 1564 the question who should marry the Queen of Scots was exciting both Scotland and England. Mary herself was inclined to her cousin Lord Darnley; and Elizabeth had suggested that she should marry Lord Robert Dudley, the Leicester of Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*. James Melville, sent to England as Mary's envoy, records his impressions of the Queen of England.

She enquired several things of me relating to this kingdom, and other countries wherein I had travelled. The Queen my mistress had instructed me to leave



Trinity Church, St Andrews  
*(Where Knox preached in 1547, 1550, and 1571-2)*

matters of gravity sometimes, and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that Queen's natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The Queen said she had cloaths of every sort ; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, and another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered In my judgment, the Italian dress ; which answer I found pleased her well ; for she delighted to shew her golden coloured hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me, what colour of hair was reputed best ; and which of them two was fairest. I answered, The fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said, She was the fairest Queen in England, and mine the fairest Queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered, They were both the fairest ladies in their countries ; that her Majesty was whiter, but my Queen was very lovely. She enquired which of them was of highest stature. I said, My Queen. Then, saith she, she is too high ; for I myself am neither too high nor too low. Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I answered, That when I received my dispatch, the Queen was lately come from the Highland hunting ; that when her more serious affairs permitted, she was taken up with reading of histories : that sometimes she recreated herself in

playing a lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably for a Queen.

That same day after dinner my lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some musick (but he said that he durst not avow it) where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened awhile, I took by the tapistry that hung before the door of the chamber, and seeing her back was toward the door, I entred within the chamber, and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately, so soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand ; alledging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there. I answered, As I was walking with my lord of Hunsdean as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in ere I knew how ; excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the court of France, where such freedom was allowed ; declaring myself willing to endure what kind of punishment her Majesty should be pleased to inflict on me for so great an offence. Then she sat down low upon a cushion, and I upon my knees by her ; but with her own hand she gave me a cushion, to lay under my knee ; which at first I refused, but she compelled me to take it. She then called for my lady Strafford out of the next chamber ; for the Queen was alone. She enquired whether my Queen or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise.

She said my French was good, and asked if I could speak Italian ; which she spoke reasonably well. I told

her Majesty I had no time to learn the language perfectly, not having been above two months in Italy. Then she spake to me in Dutch, which was not good ; and would know what kind of books I most delighted in, whether theology, history, or love matters. I said, I liked well of all the sorts. Here I took occasion to press earnestly my dispatch. She said I was weary sooner of her company, than she was of mine. I told her Majesty That though I had no reason of being weary, I knew my mistress her affairs called me home : yet I was stayed two days longer, till I might see her dance, as I was afterwards informed. Which being over, she enquired of me, whether she or my Queen danced best. I answered, The Queen danced not so high and disposedly as she did. Then again she wished, that she might see the Queen at some convenient place of meeting. I offered to convey her secretly to Scotland by post, clothed like a page : and under this disguise she might see the Queen, as James V had gone in disguise to France with his own ambassador, to seek the duke of Vendome's sister, who should have been his wife ; telling her, that her chamber might be kept in her absence as though she were sick : that none needed to be privy thereto, except my lady Strafford, and one of the grooms of her chamber. She appeared to like that kind of language, only answered it with a sigh, saying, Alas ! if I might do it thus. She used all the means she could to oblige me to persuade the Queen of the great love she did bear unto her and that she was fully minded to put away all jealousies and suspicions, and in times coming to entertain a stricter friendship than formerly. She promised that my dispatch should be delivered to me very shortly at London, by Secretary



Cecil : for now she was at Hampton-Court, where she gave me my answer by mouth herself, and her secretary by writing.

### 3. DAVID RIZZIO

[Knox : *History of the Reformation*]

Mary Queen of Scots, having married Darnley, found him absolutely useless for carrying out her political designs. She distrusted all the Scottish lords, and gave her confidence to her secretary, the Italian David Rizzio. Darnley entered into a "band" with several of the nobles to murder the secretary.

Now the matter was stayed by a marvellous tragedy, for by the lords—upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about supper-time—David Rizzio, the Italian, named the French Secretary, was slain in the gallery, below stairs—the king<sup>1</sup> staying in the room with the queen, told her, that the design was only to take order with that villain—after that he had been taken violently from the queen's presence, who requested most earnestly for the saving of his life ; which act was done by the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindsay, the master of Ruthven, with divers other gentlemen. They first purposed to have hanged him, and had provided cords for the same purpose ; but the great haste which they had, moved them to despatch him with whingers or daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty strokes. They sent away and put forth all such persons as they suspected. The earls Bothwell and Huntly, hearing the noise and clamour, came suddenly to the close, intending to have made work, if they had had a party strong enough ; but the earl

<sup>1</sup> Darnley.

Morton commanded them to pass to their chamber, or else they should do worse: at the which words they retired immediately, and so passed forth at a back window they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the town to Edmondstone, on foot, and from there to Crichton. This David Rizzio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the king being set aside, but also all his equipage and train did surpass the king's; and at the parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be chancellor; which made the lords conspire against him. They made a bond to stand to the religion and liberties of the country and to free themselves of the slavery of the villain David Rizzio. The king and his father<sup>1</sup>, subscribed to the bond, for they durst not trust the king's word without his signet.

There was a French priest, called John Daniot, who advised David Rizzio to make his fortune, and begone, for the Scots would not suffer him long. His answer was, that the Scots would brag but not fight. Then he advised him to beware of the bastard: to this he answered, that the bastard should never live in Scotland, in his time—he meant the earl Murray—but it happened, that one George Douglas, bastard son to the earl of Angus, gave him the first stroke. The queen, when she heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared she would study revenge, which she did.

Immediately it was noised in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murder committed within the king's palace, wherefore the provost caused to ring the bell, or "sonner le tocsin,"—as the French speak—and straightway passed to the palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they stood

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Lennox.

in the outer court, the king called to the provost, commanding him to pass home with his company ; saying, the queen and he were merry. But the provost desired to hear the queen speak herself ; whereunto it was answered by the king, “Provost, know you not that I am king? I command you to pass home to your houses” : and immediately they retired. The next day—which was the second Sunday of our fast in Edinburgh—there was a proclamation made in the king’s name subscribed with his hand, that all bishops, abbots, and other papists should avoid and depart the town ; which proclamation was indeed observed, for they had a “flea in their hose.” There were letters sent forth in the king’s name, and subscribed with his hand, to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh, the bailies of Leith and Canongate, commanding them to be ready in armour to assist the king and his company, and likewise other private writings directed to divers lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition. In the meantime, the queen, being above measure enraged, offended, and troubled, as the issue of the matter declared, sometimes railing upon the king, and sometimes crying out at the windows, desired her servants to set her at liberty ; for she was highly offended and troubled.

This same tenth of March the earl of Murray, with the rest of the lords and noblemen that were with him, having received the king’s letter—for after the bond abovenamed was subscribed, the king wrote unto the banished lords to return into their country, being one of the articles of the said bond—came at night to the abbey, being also convoyed by the Lord Hume, and a great company of the borderers, to the number of a thousand horses. And, first, after he had presented

himself to the king, the queen was informed of his sudden coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to come to her ; and he obeying went to her, who, with a singular gravity received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-great affection which he bore continually to her majesty. The earls of Athol, Caithness, and Sutherland, departed out of the town, with the bishops, upon the Monday, the third day after the slaughter of David Rizzio. The earls of Lennox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, lords Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, and Ochiltree, sitting in council, desired the queen, that forasmuch as the thing which was done would not be undone, that she would for avoiding of greater inconveniences, forget the same, and take it as good service, seeing there were so many noblemen restored. The queen dissembling her displeasure and indignation, gave good words ; nevertheless she desired, that all persons armed or otherwise—being within the palace at the time—should remove, leaving the palace void of all, saving her domestic servants. The lords being persuaded by the uxorious king, and the facile earl of Murray, condescended to her desire, who finally, the next morning two hours before day, passed to Seaton, and then to Dunbar, having in her company the simple king, who was allured by her sugared words.

## 4. THE MURDER OF DARNLEY

[KNOX: *History of the Reformation*]

Mary never forgave Darnley for his share in the murder of Rizzio. Some twelve months later there was another conspiracy among the nobles to murder Darnley himself. How far Mary was in the plot is a question as to which the evidence is indecisive. The murder was carried out as narrated by John Knox.

Soon after the queen came to Edinburgh, where she remained a few days. In the month of January, she was informed that the king was recovered of the poison given him at Stirling, and therefore she passed to Glasgow to visit him, and there tarried with him six days, using him wonderfully kindly, with many gracious and good words; and likewise, his father, the earl of Lennox; insomuch that all men marvelled whereto it should turn, considering the great contempt and dryness that had been before so long together. The queen, notwithstanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known design to take away his life, yet, by her sweet words, gains so far upon the uxurious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where she had caused to lodge him at the Kirk of Field, in a lodging lately bought by Mr James Balfour, clerk register—truly, very unmeet for a king. The queen resorted often to visit him, although her lodging was in the palace of Holyrood-house. Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and sudden change. The ninth of February, the king was murdered, and the house where he lay burned with powder, about twelve o'clock at night; his body was cast forth into a yard, without the town wall, adjoining close by. There was a servant likewise murdered beside him, who had been also in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold

this spectacle ; and wondering thereat some judged one thing, some another.



Mary and Darnley

Shortly thereafter, Bothwell came from the abbey with a company of men of war, and caused the body of the king to be carried to the next house ; where, after

a little, the chirurgeons being convened at the queen's command, to view and consider the manner of his death, most part gave out, to please the queen, that he was blown in the air, albeit he had no mark of fire ; and truly he was strangled. Soon after, he was carried to the abbey, and there buried.

This tragical end had Henry Stewart after he had been king eighteen months. A prince of great lineage, both by mother and father. He was of a comely stature, and none was like unto him within this island. He died under the age of one and twenty years ; prompt and ready for all games and sports, much given to hawking and hunting, and running of horses, and likewise to playing on the lute, and also to Venus' chamber. He was liberal enough ; he could write and dictate well ; but he was somewhat given to wine, and much feeding, and likewise to inconstancy ; and proud beyond measure, and therefore contemned all others. He had learned to dissemble well enough, being from his youth misled up in popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this realm, he was highly by the queen alone extolled ; and finally, had this unfortunate end by her procurement and consent. To lay all other proofs aside, her marriage with Bothwell, who was the main executioner of the king, notwithstanding all the advices and counsels that the king of France, and queen of England, did earnestly and carefully give her, as other friends, did likewise witness anent their guilt. Those that laid hands on the king to kill him, by Bothwell's direction, were Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spense, Francis Sebastian, John de Bourdeau, and Joseph, the brother of David Rizzio : these last four were the queen's domestics and strangers. The reason why the

king's death was so hastened was because the affection or passion of the earl Bothwell could not bear so long a delay as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romish clergy offered their service willingly to the business, namely, bishop Hamilton, and so he came great again at court; and he, for the advancement of the business, did good offices to increase the hatred betwixt the king and queen; yea, some that had been the chief instruments of the marriage of the king and queen, offered the service for the divorce, seeing how the queen's inclination lay: so unhappy are princes, that men for their own ends further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never so bad or destructive to themselves.

The earl of Lennox in the meantime wrote to the queen, to cause to punish Bothwell, with his other accomplices, for murdering the king. The queen, not daring openly to reject the earl of Lennox's solicitation, did appoint a day for the trial of Bothwell by an assize; the members whereof, were the earl of Caithness, president, the earl of Cassils—who, at the first refused, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in prison, and under the pain of treason, was present by the queen's command—John Hamilton, commendator of Aberbrothick, lord Ross, lord Semple, lord Boyd, lord Herris, lord Oliphant; the master of Forbes, the lairds of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambuskenneth, Barnbougel, and Boyne. They, to please the queen, and for fear, did pronounce Bothwell not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest evidence of the cruel fact committed by Bothwell; who, before the trial, did make himself strong by divers means; namely, by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, so that the accusers durst not appear, not being strong enough.



The earl of Mar did retire to Stirling, and had committed to his charge the young prince. All this was done in February.

## 5. THE WOOING OF ANJOU

[CAMDEN'S *Elizabeth*]

Queen Elizabeth until she was fifty years old perpetually played at projects of marriage with one foreign prince or another. The last was Francis, most commonly referred to as Alençon, but at this time more correctly entitled Duke of Anjou, the younger brother of the King of France. Simier was Anjou's confidant, who was sent to England to conduct the wooing.

In the meanwhile, Simier ceased not amorously to wooe Queene Elizabeth, and though she stifly refused the marriage a long time, yet he drew her to that passe, that Leicester (who from his heart opposed the marriage) and others, spred rumours abroad, that by amorous potions and unlawfull arts he had crept into the Queenes minde, and inticed her to the love of Anjou. And Simier on the other side left no meanes unassayed to remove Leicester out of place and grace with the Queene, revealing unto her his marriage with Essex his widdow: whereat the Queen grew into such a chafe, that she commanded Leicester to keepe himselfe within the Tower of Greenwich, and thought to have committed him to the Tower of London, which his enemies much desired. But Sussex, though his greatest and heaviest adversary, who wholly bent himselfe to set forward the marriage with Anjou, disswaded her, whilest out of a sound judgement and the innated generousnesse of his noble minde, he held opinion that no man was to be molested for lawfull Marriage, which amongst all men hath ever beene honest and honoured. Yet glad he was

that by this Marriage he was now out of all hope of marrying with the Queene. Nevertheless, Leicester was so incensed herewith, that he bent himselfe to revenge the wrong he had received. And there wanted not some, which accused him, as if he had suborned one Teuder of the Queenes guard, an hackster, to take away Simier's life. Certainly the Queene commanded by publique Proclamation, that no man should wrong Simier, his companions or servants, in word or deed. At which time it happened, that while the Queene for her pleasure was rowed in her barge upon the Thames neere Greenwich, with Simier, the Earle of Lincoln, and Hatton her Vice-chamberlaine, a young man discharged a Piece out of a Boat and shot one of the Bargemen in the Queene's Barge thorow both his armes: who was soone apprehended and led to the Gallows for a terrour to him; but whereas he religiously affirmed that hee did it unwittingly, and thought no harme, he was discharged. Neither would the Queene beleeve that which some buzzed in her eares, that he was purposely suborned against her or Simier. So farre was she from giving way to suspition against her people, that she was many times wont to say; That she could beleeve nothing of her people, which Parents would not beleeve of their Children.

Some few days after, the Duke of Anjou himselfe came privily into England with one or two in his company, and came unto the Queene at unawares at her Court at Greenwich, where they had their close counsailes together, all standers by being removed, which I list not to search into, (for the secrets of Princes are an inextricable labyrinth) and so he returned, being scene of but a few. But after a month or two she

commanded that Burghley, Lord Treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, after serious consideration of the danger and commodities which might arise from her Marriage with him, should consult with Simier about the writings of marriage. The dangers seemed to be, lest hee should attempt any thing against the received religion; lest hee should invade the possession of the Kingdome either for himselfe by the Popes donation, or betray it into the hands of the Queene of Scots, and marry her after the Queene were dead, or else after his brothers death returne into France, and impose a Viceroy upon England, which the English would by no means indure. Moreover, lest he should ingage the English in the forraigne warres; lest the Scots presuming upon the ancient league with the French, should take greater courage against the English; lest the Spaniard should oppose himselfe against so great a power; and lastly, lest the people being burdened with payments for maintenance of his greatnesse and state, should raise rebellions. The commodities seemed to be these, that a firme Confederacie would be established with the French; that the rebellions of the Papists (if any should be) would be the sooner suppressed; that all hope would bee cut off from the Queene of Scots, and from all those which sought to her for Marriage, and which favoured her; that the Spaniard would be brought to compound the matter of the Netherlands, and confirme the League of Burgundy; and England might at length enjoy a sound and joyfull security by meanes of the Queenes Children so often wished for. But if this Marriage should be neglected, they feared lest the French would be incensed, the Scots alienated, Anjou would contract marriage

with the Spaniards Daughter, with whom he might receive the Netherland Provinces in dowry, the French King and the Spaniard would ayd the Queene of Scots, draw the King of Scots to their partie, procure him a wife for their owne turne, and utterly abolish the Reformed Religion; and the English when they saw no hope of children by the Queene, would adore the Sunne-rising. Wherewith she could not but be tormented with anguish of minde, and languish even to death.

## 6. DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

[CAMDEN'S *Elizabeth*]

At the end of 1577, Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth on his great voyage round the world, which was completed just within three years. Nominally, England and Spain were at peace; but the peace was recognised neither by the Spaniards nor by English sailors in the American seas. Only one Englishman before Drake, Oxenham, had sailed in the waters of the Pacific.

Drake, being ignorant what Oxenham had done, set saile from Plimouth the 13 day of December, in the year 1577, to Navigate that south sea, which still ran in his mind, and to cast the Dice of fortune, with five ships, and 163 saylers, of whom scarce one or two knew what was to be done, which in all expeditions is the safest. The 25. day he came against Cantin, a Cape of Barbary, and from thence he refreshed himselfe in the Isle of May, being a pleasant Isle, and most fruitfull of the sweetest grapes. At Saint Iacomo he tooke a Portugall ship laden with Wine, and letting the saylers goe, carried it away with Nonny de Sylva the Pilot who might be of use unto him, for the harbours and watering places on the coast of Brasill, which hee knew passing

well. From thence he sayled by the Isle of Fogo, that casteth forth sulphury flames, and Brava, under which the Marriners doe report the Sea to be deepest. And now comming neere the Equator, Drake being very carefull of his mens health, let every one of them bloud with his owne hands, and there finding a great calme with much thunder and lightning, in almost three weekes he got little or nothing forward, and in full five and fifty dayes, saw no Land, till Brasill presented itself to his view.

The 26. Aprill entring into the mouth of the River of Plate, he saw an infinite company of Sea Calves. From thence sayling into the Haven of Saint Julians, he found a Gybbet, set up (as is thought) by Magellan when he punished certaine mutiners. In this very place, John Doughtey an industrious and stout man, and the next unto himselfe, was called to his tryall for raising a sedition in the Fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the manner of the English, and condemned to death which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, after he had received the Holy Communion with Drake. And indeed the most indifferent in the Fleet judged, that hee had dealt seditiously, and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, whilst he regarded, not so much whom he excelled in glory for Sea matters, as who might equall him. Yet wanted there not some, which thinking themselves to be men of a deeper reach, gave out that Drake had a charge from Leicester, that he should make away Doughtey by any colour whatsoever, for that he had reported abroad that the Earle of Essex was made away by the cunning practises of Leicester.

The twentieth day of August, he came with three

ships, (for, the two lesser he had before left to the waves, shipping the men and munition into the rest) to the Straight of Magellan, (as they call it) being a Sea thicke



Sir Francis Drake

beset with islands, and inclosed with high cliffes or mountaines, the skye being extreame cold with snow and frost. The 6. September having past the Straite,

he entred into the open south Sea, (which they call Pacificke or calme) but found it rough and troublous beyond measure; and an hideous tempest carried the Fleet about 100 Leagues Westward, and parted them. What time he observed an Eclipse of the Moone the 15. of September at 6. of the clocke after noone, (which I note for the Mathematicians sakes). He observed also, contrary to that which some had written, that that part of the Heaven next to the South Pole, was set with but very few starres, and those of small bignesse, and that there were but those onely of any speciall bignesse, to be seene in that Hemisphere, which England hath not seene. But two final clouds he observed, of the same colour with Via Lactea, not farre distant from the Pole, which our men called Magellans Clouds.

Of the ships that were carried away with the tempest, one (whereof John Winter was Captaine) came backe thorow the Straite, and returned safe into England, and was the first that ever came back through the said Straite. Drake himselfe being now cast with his one ship alone to the 55. degree of south latitude, having with much ado gotten up to the latitude of the Straite, coasted along the shore, and found those Coasts to give back with a great retyring into the East, otherwise then they set down in the Maps.

The last of September he came to Mouch, an island neere the shore, where one or two of his Sailers whom he had sent for fresh water, were intercepted one after another by the people of the countrey. Setting saile from hence, he lighted upon a Barbarian fishing in a small boat, who supposing our men to be Spaniards, gave them notice that there rode a great Spanish ship at anchor laden, at Villa Parizo, and directed them

thither. The Spanish Marriners seeing the Englishmen comming, and supposing them to be their own Countrymen, rung a bell, drew wine of Chily, and drunke to them full cups. But they clapping the ship aboard, thrust the Spaniards presently under Hatches, sacked the Towne of S. Jago hard by, together with the Chappell, the booty whereof fell to Fletcher Minister of the word in the Fleet. The Spaniards being set on Land (which were not above eight with two Negres) he carried away with him the Master being by Nation a Grecian, and the ship: wherein was 400 pound weight of gold of Baldivium (so called of the place) which was most fine and pure.

Then went he on land at Taurapasa, where he found a Spaniard sleeping securely upon the shore, and by him thirteene barres or wedges of silver to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckets; which he commanded to be carried away, not so much as once waking the man. Afterwards entring into the haven of Arica, he found there three ships without sailers, and in them, beside other merchandise, 57. wedges of silver, whereof every one was of twenty pound weight. From hence he sailed to Lima where he found twelve ships riding at anchor, their munition being drawne up on land, and in them good store of silks, and a Chest full of money ready stamped, but not so much as a boy aboard, so great security was there in that Coast, that they stood in no feare, at all of Pirats, by reason of the most remotenesse of the places, and the unknowne sea. And certainly after Magellan, never any man before Drake, had navigated that Sea, save onely the Spaniards, who built there all the ships they had in that Coast. Having committed their ships to the Ocean, he chased with all



the sailes he could make the *Cacofoga*, a most rich ship, which he understood had set saile from thence toward Panama. By the way he met a small Brigandine unarmed, out of which he tooke fourscore pound weight of gold, a golden Crucifix, some Emeralds of a fingers length, and some munition. The first of March he overtooke the *Cacofoga*, and having shot down the foremast with the shot of a great peece of ordnance, he set upon her, and soone tooke her, and in her besides pearls and pretious stones, fourescore pound weight in gold, thirteene Chests full of silver stamped, and so great a quantitie of silver as would suffice to ballast a ship. Which when he had laden into his owne ship, he let the *Cacofoga* go. The master thereof is reported to have bidden him thus merrily farewell, saying, We resigne the name of our ship to yours : Yours now may be the *Cacofoga*, that is, *Ignicaca*, and ours *Cacoplaca*, that is *Argentacaca*. After this time he met with no rich bootie. His China dishes with an Eagle of gold, and a fayre Negresse, giuen unto him for a present by a Spaniard whose ship he had spared and the sacking of *Aguatulco* a small towne, I purposely omit.

And now thinking himselfe abundantly enriched, and sufficiently recompensed for the priuate injury done unto him by the Spaniards at the Hauen of *Saint John de Ullua*, he began to thinke upon his returne. To returne by the Strait of *Magellan* seemed most dangerous both for the often tempests and uncertaine shelves and shallowes, and also lest the Spaniards should there lay wayt for him against his comming back. And indeed *Don Francisco de Toledo*, Viceroy of *Peru*, had sent thither *Peter Sarmiento* with two ships, to intercept him as hee returned, and to fortifie the narrow places of

the strait if any were. Hee held his course therefore Northward, to the latitude of 42 degrees, to discover if there were any strait on that side, by which hee might return the next way home. But when he saw nothing but thick clouds, sharp cold, open shores, covered with snow, he descended to 38. degrees, and meeting with a commodious harbour, stayed there a while. The people inhabiting there, were naked, most pleasant, dancing every day in rings, offering sacrifices, and which seemed by their signes to choose Drake with a long oration to bee their King; neither could he conjecture that the Spaniards had euer touched so farre. This Country being a fruitfull soyle, and very full of Deere and Connyes, it pleased him to name New Albion, setting up an inscription vpon a post, which noted the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene Elizabeth, and their arriuall there, fastning vnderneath some of Queene Elizabeths Coyne.

From this coast hee set sayle, and came in the month of December to the Isles of the Moluckaes being kindly entertained by the King of the Isle of Ternate. From thence sayling in that Sea thick bespread with Isles and Rocks, the ninth of January his ship struck vpon a Rock which was hid vnder water, and there stuck the space of seuen and twenty houres, being holden of them all for lost; who now fell deuoutly to their prayers, as if they should assuredly be cast away, and all their wealth gotten with so great labour. But when they had layd their hands to work, and cast forth eight great Peeeces and some Marchandies into the Sea, there came a bearing gale of winde on the same side as it were set by God, and cleared the ship of the Rock. Afterwards he arriued at Java Maior, which was then grievously afflicted with

the French disease which they cure by sitting against the warme sunne to dry up that malignant humour ; where having received great curtesie at the hands of that petty King, he held on his course to the Cape of Good Hope : which as a place very remarkable, the English Marriners, which had now the first sight thereof, doe much honour. On the West side thereof he landed for fresh water, but found no spring, and now he had beene distressed for lack of fresh water, had he not providently kept raine water, which he received in vessels. But this defect he supplied at length at Rio Grande : from whence he returned with a prosperous gale into England the third of November, in the yeare 1580, to the Haven of Plimmouth, from whence he had set forth, having sayled round about the world, in the space of three years or thereabout, to the great admiration of all men.

## 7. INSURRECTION IN IRELAND

[CAMDEN's *Elizabeth*]

About the time when Drake was ending his great voyage a fierce insurrection broke out in Ireland known as the Desmond Rebellion.

The Lord Justice being now advertised, that Arthur Lord Grey, appointed to be Lord Deputie of Ireland, was arrived in Ireland, committed the Army of Munster to George Bouchier sonne to John the second Earle of Baath, and returned himselfe by easie journeys to Dublin, to deliver up his charge to his successor. No sooner was the Lord Grey arrived, but before he had received the Sword and Ensigne of his command, hearing that certaine Rebels under the command of Fitz-Eaustace,

and Pheog Mac-Hugh, the head of the powerful family of the O-Brines, did exercise thefts and robberies, and had their refuge in Glandilough, 25 miles from Dublin southward, that he might follow the report of his comming at the hard heeles, and by his sharpe beginnings strike a terrour into them, he commanded the Captaines of Companies, which came from all places to salute him, to gather their forces together, and so march with him against the Rebels, who presently retired into Glandilough. This Glandilough is a grasse valley, meet for grasing of Cattell, and a great part of it somewhat wet ; beset round about with craggy rockes, and a steepe downefall, and with trees and thickets of wood, the paths scarce known to the dwellers thereabouts. When they were come to the place, Cosbey Captaine of the Irish light footmen (whom they call Kernes), who knew the places perfectly well, warned the rest how dangerous it was to enter into the Valley, being most commodious for ambushes : yet hee perswaded them to venture courageously, and he himselfe being above threescore yeeres of age, led the way before them, and the rest followed after. As soone as they were descended into the valley, they were overlayed with small shot as it were with a showre of haile from the rebels, which were placed round about, whom they saw not. For the greatest part of them by farre were slaine ; the rest with so much adoe climbing up the Rockes through most cumbersome waies escaped to the Lord Deputie who upon an hill attended the event, with the Earl of Kildare, and Jaques Wingfield master of the munition, who, being not ignorant of the danger, stayed George Carew, one of his Nephews, with him against his will, being reserved for greater honour. There were slaine

Peter Carew, the younger, George Moore, Audley, and Cosbey himsele, men flourishing in martiall glory.

Within short time after, arrived at Smerwick in Kerry, about seaven hundred Italians and Spaniards under the command of San-Josepho an Italian, sent from the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniard, under colour of restoring the Romish religion, but indeed to distract Queen Elizabeth's forces, and to draw her minde from the affaires of the Low Countries. They landed without reluctance, for Winter, which had stayed for them a good while upon that coast, was returned into England the Autumnall Equinoctiall being now past. The Enemies strengthen the place with fortifications, and named it the Fort Del Or. But as soone as newes was brought them, that Ormond President of Munster approached, they abandoned the Fort by perswasion of the Irish, and withdrew themselves into the valley of Glanningelli invironed with steepe Hills and Woods. Some of them the President tooke, who being asked of their number and intent, confessed that they came 700 strong, but brought armes sufficient for five thousand, and that more men were expected daily out of Spaine. That the Pope and the Spaniards had decreed to drive the English out of Ireland, and to that purpose had sent a great summe of money which they had delivered into the hands of Sanders the Popes Nuncio, the Earl of Desmond, and John his brother. The same night the Italians and Spaniards not knowing which wayes to turn them, (for lurke in wilde holes they could not) returned by darke to the Fort, and hard by encamped the Earle of Ormond. But for that he was destitute of Ordnance and other necessaries for an assault, he stayed for the Lord Deputies comming. Who came shortly after accompanied

with Zouch, Raughley, Deny, Macworth, Achin, and other Captaines. And at the same time was Winter returned out of England with the ships of warre not without a cheeke.

The Lord Deputy sent a Trumpet to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to doe in Ireland, who had sent them, and why they had built a Fort in Queen Elizabeths Kingdome ; and withall, to command them with all speed to depart. They answered, they were sent, some from the most holy Father the Pope, and some from the Catholic King of Spaine, to whom the Pope had given Ireland, for the Queene Elizabeth had justly forfeited her title to Ireland for Heresie. They would therefore hold that they had gotten, and get more also if they could. When the Lord Deputy and Winter had consulted together about the manner of the siege, the Sailers in a still night drew certaine Culverins out of the ships, and having raised a Mount neere the shore, drew them up the next way and planted them. The Souldiers in like manner on the other side, levell their great Pieces for batterie and all at once thunder for foure dayes together against the Fort. The Spaniards made one or two sallyes, but to their owne losse. Of the English not one man was slaine, save onely John Cheeke, a goodly and couragious young Gentleman, Son to Sir John Cheeke, a most learned Knight.

San-Josepho, who had the Command of the Fort being a faint-hearted man, and terrified with the continuall playing of the Ordnance, began presently to thinke of yeelding the place : and when Hercules Pisanus and other Captaines earnestly disswaded him from it, as dishonourable to martiall men, and pressed

him that they might prepare themselves for the defence, lest they did by their cowardize discourage the Irish who were now ready to relieve them, he by his espyals, such was his faint heart, felt the minde of the Souldiers, and wrought them to assent to a surrender, seditiously offering violence to their Leaders. Whereupon when they saw no succour come, neither out of Spaine, nor from Desmond, they hung out a white flag the fift day and craved parley. Then they craved that they might depart with bag and baggages but neither was this granted. Afterwards it was demanded that this might be permitted to their Generall and to certaine principall men amongst them: neyther was this allowed them, though they sued for it very earnestly. And the Lord Deputy, (inveighing very bitterly against the Bishop of Rome) commanded them to yeeld without any condition. And when they could obtaine no other, they set up their white flag againe and cryed, Miserecordia, Miserecordia, and absolutely submitted themselves to the Lord Deputies mercy: who presently tooke councill with his what should be done with them. But forasmuch as those which yeilded, equalled the English in number, and some danger threatned from the Rebels, who were above fifteene hundred strong, and the English were so destitute of victuals and apparell, that they were ready to mutine, unlesse they were relieved out of the Fort by the spoyles of the enemy, and there lacked shipping to carry away the Enemies, it was concluded against the minde of the Lord Deputie, who shed tears, that the Captaines should be saved, and the rest promiscuously put to the sword for a terrour, and that the Irish should be hanged: which was presently performed: Yet the Queene wished rather it had been left undone, detesting

from her heart the cruelty though necessary, against those that had yeilded themselves, and hardly did she allow of the reasons of the slaughter committed.

### 8. QUEEN ELIZABETH'S ECONOMIES

[*A letter of FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM*]

Francis Walsingham was sent as Elizabeth's ambassador to Paris while she was still playing with the scheme of the Anjou marriage. During his absence he wrote to her this exceedingly plainspoken criticism of the parsimony by which on more than one occasion her schemes were very nearly brought to ruin.

It may please your most excellent Majestie, The Laws of *Ethiopia*, my native soil, are very severe against those, that condemn a person unheard; but most sharp against such as judge amiss of those that sit in Princely Chair, as gods here on earth. To tell your Majestie what others conceive upon the late stay of our proceedings here (as by the Letter it pleased your Majestie to vouchsafe to write unto me, it seemeth you conceive who cannot think that such effects should grow of naked and weak causes) I hope is not to condemn, when I either look into your Majesties own Princely judgement, who for your own Highness sake, ought to have care to preserve your Ministers credit; or consider mine own duty, which teacheth me not to condemn those that I am bound to defend, I should then be worthy of the most sharp punishment that either the Ethiopian or Draco's Law can yield, if I should unwittingly, by wrong supposal grow to so a hard a censure, as to think that your Majestie should prefer in matter of trust, a stranger to a servant, that in loyalty will give place neither to subject nor to stranger. I cannot deny, but I have been infinitely grieved to see



the desire I have had to do your Majestie some acceptable service (in the present charge committed unto me) so greatly crossed. But I will leave to touch my particular, though I have as great cause as any man that ever served in the place I now unworthily supply, being at home subject to sundry strange jealousies, and in foreign service to displeasure, though I dare make the greatest enemy I have the censurer of mine action and proceedings in such forreign actions as have been committed unto me. If either ambition or riches were the end of my strife, my grief would be the less. But now to the publike, wherein if any thing shall escape my pen, that may breed offence, I most heartily beseech your Majestie to ascribe it to love, which can never bring forth evil effects, though sometimes it may be subject to sharp censures. And first, for your Majesties Marriage: if your Majestie mean to remember, that by the delay your Honours useth therein, you lose the benefit of time, which (if years be considered) is not the least to be weighed; if you mean it not, then assure yourselfe it is one of the worst remedies you can use (howsoever your Majestie conceiveth it) that it may serve your turn. And as for the league we were in hand withal if the King would have assented that the same should have proceeded in general terms, according to such direction as we have lately received from your Majestie, I am for sundry causes led to think that it would have proved unprofitable, as generally I know that there is a president to confirm the same, but if in that time a King of Scots, pretending a title to the Crown of England, was like by matching with Spain, to have wrought that peril towards your Majesties father, as he is towards you, he would not

then have stood upon generality, as your Majestie doth now. For in diseased bodies, there is not alwaies like use of medicines ; sometimes when your Majestie doth behold in what doubtful terms you stand with Forreign Princes, then you do wish with great affection, that opportunities offered had not been slipped. But when they are offered to you (if they be accompanied with charges) they are altogether neglected. Common experience teacheth, that [it] is as hard in a pollitique body, to prevent any mischief without charges, as in a



Crown of Elizabeth's Reign

natural body diseased, to cure the same without pain. Remember, I humbly beseech your Majestie, the respect of charges hath lost Scotland ; and I would to God I had no cause to think that it might put your Highness in peril of the loss of England ; I see it, and they stick not to say it, that the only cause that moveth them here, not to weigh your Majesties friendship is for that they see your Majestie doth fly charges otherwise then by doing somewhat underhand : it is strange, considering in what state your Majestie standeth, that in all the directions that we have now received, we have special

charge not to yield to any thing that may be accompanied with charges. The general League must be without any certain charges. The particular League with a voluntary, and no certain charge, as also, that that is to be attempted in favour of *Don Anthonio*; the best is, that if they were (as they are not) inclined to deal in any of these points, then they were like to receive but small comfort for any thing that we have direction to assent unto. Heretofore your Majesties predecessors, in matters of peril, did never look into the charges, when their treasure was neither so great as your Majesties is, nor subjects so wealthy, nor so willing to contribute. A person that is diseased, if he look only upon the medicine, without regard of the pain he sustaineth, cannot in reason and nature, but abhor the same; if therefore no peril, why then it is in vain to be at any charges; but if there be peril, it is hard that charges should be preferred before peril; I pray God the abatement of the charges towards that noble man that hath the custody of the bosom-serpent<sup>1</sup>, hath not lessened his care in keeping of her. To think that in a man of his birth and quality, after twelve years travel in charge of such weight, to have an abatement of allowance, and no recompense otherwise made, should not work discontentment, no man that hath reason can so judge: and therefore, to have so special a charge committed to a person discontented, every body seeth it standeth no way with pollicy, what dangerous effects this loose keeping hath bred (the taking away of Morton, the alienation of the King, and a general revolt in Religion, intended only by her charges) doth shew. And therefore that is like to grow thereby, is so fatal, as

<sup>1</sup> Mary Queen of Scots.

it can no way be prevented. If this sparing and improvident course be held stille, the mischiefs approaching being so apparent as they are, I conclude therefore, having spoken in heat of duty, without offence to your Majestie, that no one that serveth in place of a Counciller, that either weigheth his own credit, or carrieth that sound affect to your Majestie as he ought to do, that would not wish himself in the farthest part of Ethiopia, rather than enjoy the fairest Palace in England. The Lord God therefore direct your Majesties heart to take that way of counsel that may be most for your honour and safety. September 2 [1581].

## 9. THE CARTAGENA EXPEDITION

[CAMDEN'S *Elizabeth*]

In 1585 Elizabeth found herself forced to ally herself openly with the Netherlanders who had long been in active revolt against Spain. The pretence of peace between Spain and England was thus at last brought to an end, and Drake was despatched on the expedition described in the following section.

And withall, that she might not looke for warre at home but give the Spaniard somewhat to doe abroad, she sent to the West Indies, Sir Francis Drake, Admirall of the Fleet, and Christopher Carlil, General of the land forces, with a fleet of 22 shippes, wherein were 2300 voluntary souldiers, and saylers, who in the Isle of St Iago neere Cape de Verd, surprized at unawares, the town of St Iago, which gave name to the Island, being seated in a low valley; and with a peale of ordnance celebrated the day of the Queenes inauguration, to wit, the seventeenth of November. Having sacked the towne, they found not a whit of gold, but of meale, wine, and

oyle great store. The 14 day after, they put from that Coast, and many which kept watch abroad in the open ayre, were taken with a sharpe disease called the Calenture, and dyed, which disease is familiar in that unwholesome Ayre, to strangers that come thither and lye abroad in the evening. The first of January they arrived at Hispaniola, and tenne miles from the City of St Domingo, the Souldiers were landed in a safe place discovered unto them by a Spaniard whom they had taken: and there setting themselves in array, they marched towards the City, and having beaten backe 150 Spanish horse which made head against them, and put certaine musketteeres to flight, which lay in ambush, they entred pell-mell with them into the City, at the two gates which looke Westward, and withall, the townesmen in great feare ranne all out of the City at the North gate. The English trooped together to the Market place neere the greatest Church: and whereas they were not enow to defend so large a city, they fortified it with rampiers, and afterwards seized upon other commodious places: and being now masters of the City, they stayed there a full month. And whereas the townesmen offered but a small summe of money to redeeme the towne, they began to fire first the suburbs, and then the fairest houses within the City, and to pull them downe, untill the Citizens redeemed their houses with 25000 duckets, which they could hardly make. The booty was not greate, save onely of ordnance, meale, and sugar. For, brasse money, glasses and purslan<sup>1</sup> dishes out of East India, are only in use there. In the towne-hall were to bee seene amongst other things, the King of Spaine's Armes, and under them, a globe of this

<sup>1</sup> porcelain.

world, out of which, arose a horse with his fore feet cast forth, with this inscription, *Non Sufficit Orbis*, that is, The world sufficeth not. Which was laughed at, and taken as an argument of the infinite avarice and ambition of the Spaniards, as if nothing would suffice them.

From hence they sayled to the Continent of America, and landed five miles from Cartagena: and while Drake with his pinnaces and boats well manned, in vaine assailed the haven of the City, which was fortified with a Castle, and chained up, Carlil, having put his men in battell array, led them in the dead of the night along the shoure. A troope of horse presented themselves to Carlil, and presently retyred: He pursued them, and came to a narrow necke of land betweene the innermore rode of the haven, and the ocean, fortified with a stone wall, which had but one entrance, scarce broad enough for a cart to passe, and that was fortified with barricadoes and five great peeces, which were many times discharged in vaine, against the very front of the Army, while Carlil knowing well how to avoid the danger, by the helpe of the darkenesse, and taking the advantage of the ebbing water, led his men somewhat lower over the sand to the very entrance; which the Englishmen manfully brake thorow, notwithstanding that from the said innermore rode of the haven two galleys playd upon the flanke of them with eleven great pieces, and three hundred musketteeres. Then they soone overcame the Palizadoes, which were providently set up at the entrance of every streete, driving away the Spaniards and the Indians, which shot abroad their envenomed arrowes, and so became masters of the towne where they stayed sixe weekes, compounding the

redeeming of the towne for 110,000 duckets, which were paid in hand, and shared man by man amongst the saylers and souldiers which had most need. Yet there fell to them but a small booty : for the citizens hauing warning aforehand from Hispaniola, had conueyed away all their richest things to places most remote. The Calenture still raging amongst them, and lessening their numbers, their designe for winning of Nombre de Dios was layd aside, and they set sayle homewards by the point of the Isle of Cuba which is dedicate to Saint Antonio, where they set in fresh raine water out of ponds.

Then coasting along the shore of Florida, they seized upon two towns, S. Antonies and S. Hellens, both of them abandoned by the Spanish garrisons, and burnt them. Lastly, sayling along by a wasted coast, they found certaine Englishmen, which had seated themselves in Virginia, so named in honour of Queene Elizabeth a Virgin, whom Sir Walter Raghley, a man in great favour with Queene Elizabeth, had sent thither of late for a Colony, in a most commendable desire to discouer farre countries and to advance the glory of England for navigation. To Ralph Lane their Captaine Drake offered all offices of kindnesse, and a ship or two with victuals and some men, if he thought good to stay there and prosecute his enterprize ; if not, to bring him backe to England. But whilst they were lading of victuals into those ships, an extraordinary storme carried them away, and dispersed the fleet in such sort, that they met not again till they came into England. Hereupon Lane, and those which were carried thither, being in great penury, and out of all hope of victuals out of England, and greatly weakened in their number, with one voyce

besought Drake that he would carry them backe againe into their own country, which hee willingly did.

And these men which were brought backe, were the first that I know of, which brought into England that Indian plant, which they call Tobacco and Nicotia, and use it against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time, it began to be in great request, and to be sold at an high rate, whilst (e)very many every where, some for wantonnesse, some for health, sucke in with insatiable greedinesse the stinking smoke therof, thorow an earthen pipe, and presently snuffe it out of their nostrils: insomuch as tobacco shops are kept in townes every where, no lesse than tap-houses and tavernes. So as the Englishmens bodies, (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, may seeme to be degenerate into the nature of barbarians, seeing that they are delighted, and thinke they may bee cured with the same things which barbarians use. In this voyage were lost 700 men, and all of them almost of the Calenture. The booty was valued at 60,000 pounds of English money. Two hundred and forty great pieces of brasse and iron were brought from the enemy.



## 10. THE RUNNING FIGHT WITH THE ARMADA

[CAMDEN'S *Elizabeth*]

In 1588 Philip of Spain was at last able to despatch the Great Armada for the destruction of England. The English seamen had long been confident that the Spanish fleet was in reality no match for them. The Great Armada was a week sailing up Channel, during which time it was severely harried by the English ships, but no really decisive engagement took place.

The 16 day there was a great calme, and a thick fogge till noone : then the north-east winde blew very strongly, and soone after, the west wind till midnight, and then the east-southeast winde, insomuch as the Spanish fleet being dispersed was hardly gathered together againe, till it came within keening of England the 19. day. Vpon which day the Lord Admirall of England being certainly advertised by Flemming a captaine of a pinnace, that the Spanish fleet was entred into the Britttish Sea (which the common sort of sailers called the Channell) and was scene neare the point called the Lizard, towed the English fleet forth into the deepe sea, not without great difficultie, certainly with singular diligence, and admirable alacritie of the saylers, chearing them with his own presence amongst them at their halser worke, the winde blowing sore into the Haven.

The next day the English descryed the Spanish fleet with lofty towers castle like, in front like a half moone, the hornes stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, sayling as it were with labour of the windes, and groning of the ocean, slowly though with full sayles ; and willingly they suffer it to passe by, that they might chace them in the reere with a fore-right winde.

The 21. of July the Lord Admirall of England, sending a Pinnace before, called the *Defiance*, denounced warre by discharging her ordnance and presently with much thundring out of his owne ship called the *Arkroyall*, he first set upon the Admirall (as he thought) of the Spaniards (but it was Alphonso de Leva's ship). Soone after, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, played with their ordnance upon the hyndmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who laboured all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleet, till his owne ship being much battered with shot, and now growne un-serviceable, hardly withdrew it selfe to the maine fleet. At which time the Duke of Medina gathered together his fleet scattered here and there, and hoysing more sayle, held on his intended course. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the winde favoured the English, and their ships would turne about with incredible celerity which way soever they would to charge, winde, and tacke about againe. And now had they maintained an hot fight the space of two houres, when the Lord Admirall thought not good to continue the fight any longer, for that 40 of his ships were not yet come in, being scarce yet gotten out of the Haven.

The next night following, the *Saint Katherine* a Spanish ship, having beene much torne and battered in this fight, was taken into the midst of the fleet to be repaired. And an huge ship of Biscay, of *Oquenda's* in which was the King's Treasurer,—began to flame of a light fire, by force of gun-powder, which was fired of purpose by a Netherland gunner which was misused. Yet was the fire soone quenched by ships sent in to helpe her : amongst which the *Gallioun* of *Don Pedro de Valdez* falling foule of another ship, brake her foremast or



The Spanish Armada

foresprit, and being left behinde, for that no man (the sea being troublous and the night darke) could come to rescue her, fell into Drake's hands as good prize, who sent Valdez to Dertmouth, and left the money to be rifeled by his men. He being commanded to carry a lanterne that night, neglected it, having five great hulks in chase belonging to merchants of Germany, supposing them to be enemies : whereby he caused almost the whole English Fleet to lye still, for that the night-light was no where to be scene. Neither did he and the rest of the Fleet till toward night the next day, recover fight of the Lord Admirall, who all the night before, with two ships the Beare and the Maryrose followed the Spanish lanterne. All this day the Duke laboured securely by setting the fleet in order. To Alphonso de Leva he gave in charge to joyne the first and the last squadron together : to every ship he assigned his quarter to ride in according to the forme prescribed in Spaine, upon paine of death to those that should abandon their quarter : Glich an Ensigne-bearer he sent to the Prince of Parma, to shew him in what state he was : and the aforesaid Biscaine ship of Oquendas he committed to the waves, having shipped the Kings money and the men into other ships. Which ship fell the same day into the Englishmens hands, with about 50 Sailers and Souldiers, most pittifully maymed and halfe burnt, and was brought into the Haven of Weymouth. The 23. day of the moneth, betimes in the morning, the Spaniards taking the benefit of a Northerly winde, turned about against the English who for their advantage soone turned aside towards the West: And after they had strived to get the winde one of another, they prepared themselves on both sides to fight ; and fight they did

confusedly and with variable fortune, whilest on the one side the English manfully rescued the ships of London, that were hemmed in by the Spaniards, and on the other side the Spaniards as stoutly delivered Recalde being in danger. Never was heard greater thundring of ordnance on both sides, which notwithstanding from the Spaniards flew for the most part over the English without harme: Onely Cock an Englishman died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his. For the English ships being farre the better, charged the enemy with marvellous agility, and having discharged their broadsides, flew forth presently into the deepe, and levelled their shot directly without missing, against those great ships of the Spaniards which were heavy and altogether unwieldy. And the Lord Admirall thought not good to hazard fight by grappling with them as some unadvised people perswaded him. For the enemy had a strong Army in the fleet, he had none. Their ships were farre more in number, of bigger burthen, stronger and higher built so as from those which defended aloft from the hatches, nothing but certaine death would hang over the heads of those which should charge from beneath. And he foresaw that the overthrow would endamage him much more than the victory would availe him. For being vanquished he should have brought England into extreme hazard; and being conqueror he should onely have gained a little glory, for overthrowing the fleet and beating theemie.

The 24. day of the moneth they ceased on both sides from fighting. The Lord Admirall sent some of the smaller ships to the next coasts of England, to fetch powder and other provision for fight: and divided the

whole fleet into foure squadrons whereof the first he commanded himself, the second he committed to Drake, the third to Hawkins, and the fourth to Forbisher ; and appointed out of every Squadron certaine small vessels to give the charge from divers parts in the dead of the night : but being becalmed, his designe failed of the effect.

The 25. day which was S. James his day, the Saint Anne a galleoun of Portugall, which could not course with the rest, was set upon by certaine small English ships : to whose rescue came Leva, and Don Diego Telles Enriques, with three Galleasses : which the Lord Admirall him selfe, and the Lord Thomas Howard in the golden Lyon, towing their ships with their boats, (so great was the calme) charged in such sort with force of their ordnance, that much ado they had, and not without losse, to free the Galleoun ; and from that time no Galleasses would undertake to fight. The Spaniards report, that the English the same day beat the Spanish Admirall in the utter squadron with their great ordnance neere than before, and having slain many men, shot downe her maine maste, but Mexia and Recalde in good time repulsed the English : That then the Spanish Admirall assisted by Recalde and others, set upon the English admirall, and that the English admirall escaped by meanes of the winde turning : That the Spaniards from that time gave over the pursuite, and holding on their course, dispatched again a messenger to Parma, to joyne his fleet with all speed with the King's Armado, and withall to send great shot. These things were unknowne to the English, who write that from one of the Spanish ships they rent the lanterne, and from another the beake head, and did much hurt to the

third: That the *Non-Pariglia* and the *Maryrose* fought a while with the Spaniards: and that other ships rescued the *Triumph* which was in danger. Thus in the manner of the fights they which were present thereat, do not report the same things of the same, whilst every one on both sides mentioned what he himselfe observed.

The next day the Lord Admirall knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valour. And it was resolved from thenceforth to assaile the enemy no more, till they came to the British fryth or Straits of Calys, where the Lord Henry Seimore, and Sir William Winter awaited their comming. So with a faire Etesian gale (which in our skie bloweth for the most part from the South-west and by South cleare and faire) the Spanish fleet sailed forward, the English fleet following it close at the heeles. But so farre was it from terrifying the sea coast with the name of *Invincible* or with the terrible spectacle, that the youth of England, with a certaine incredible alacrity (leaving their parents, wives, and children, cousins and friends, out of their entire love to their country) hired ships from all parts at their owne private charges, and joyned with the fleet in great number: and amongst others the Earles of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecyl, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorges, and others of great note.

## 11. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMADA

[CAMDEN'S *Elizabeth*]

This section tells of the final annihilation of the Spanish fleet.

The 27. day of this moneth toward night, the Spaniards came to an anchor before Calys, being warned by the Pilots, that if they proceeded any farther, it was to be feared lest they should be driven by force of the tyde into the North Ocean. And neere unto them also rode at anchor the Lord Admirall with his ships within Canon shot of them with whom Seimore and Winter joyned their ships. And now were there in the English fleet 140. saile, all able ships to fight, sayle, and winde about which way they would : yet were there not above fifteene, which in a manner sustained and repulsed the whole weight of the fight. The Spaniards forthwith, as they had done many times before, urged the Duke of Parma by messengers dispatched one after another, to send 40 fleyboats, that is, light vessels, without which he could not well fight with the English by reason of the over-greatnesse and slownesse of the Spanish ships, and the singular agility of the English : and they most earnestly prayed him to put to sea with his Army, which the Spanish fleet would protect as it were under her wings (for so it was resolved) till it were landed in England. But he being unready could not be present at their call, his flat-bottomed boats for the shallow channels leaked, his provision of victuals was not ready, and his Sailers having beene stayed hitherto against their wills, had withdrawne themselves. There lay watching also at the entrance of the Havens of Dunkirke and Nieuport whence he was to put forth to Sea, the ships of warre of the Hollanders and Zelanders, so



strongly provided of great ordnance and musketers, that he could not put from shore, unlesse he would wilfully thrust himselfe and his upon present death. And yet he, a skilfull and industrious warriour, seemed to omit nothing, being inflamed with desire of the conquest of England. But Queene Elizabeth's foresight prevented both his diligence and the credulous hope of the Spaniards : for by her commandment, the next day after the Spaniards had cast anchor, the Lord Admirall made ready eight of his worst ships, besmeared with wild fire, pitch and rosin, and filled with brimstone and other combustible matter, and sent them downe the wind in the dead of night, under the guiding of Young and Prowse, into the Spanish fleet. Which when the Spaniards espied approaching towards them, the whole sea being light with the flame thereof, supposing that those incendiary ships, besides the danger of the fire, were also provided of deadly engines and murdering inventions, they raised a pitifull cry, weighed anchor, cut their cables, and in a terrible Pannic feare, with great haste and confusion, put to Sea. Amongst which the great Galleasse having broke her rudder : floated up and downe, and the next day, fearfully making towards Calys, runne aground upon the sands, and was fought withall with variable fortune by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerrard, and Harvey, Don Hugo de Moncada the Captaine being slaine, and the souldiers and owers either drowned, or put to the sword, and a great quantity of gold being pillaged. The ship and ordnance fell to the Governor of Calys.

The Spaniards report, that the Duke, when those incendiary ships approached, commanded the whole Fleet to weigh anchor, yet so as having avoided the

danger, every ship should returne to his quarter. And certainly he returned himselfe, giving a signe to the rest to do the like, by discharging a great peece, which notwithstanding was heard but of a few, for that they being scattered all about, were driven for feare, some of them into the wide Ocean, and some upon the shallows of Flanders.

In the meantime Drake and Fenner played hotly with their ordnance upon the Spanish fleet that was gathering together againe over against Graveling; with whom presently after joyned Fenton, Southwell, Beeston, Crosse, Riman, and soone after, the Lord Admirall himselfe, the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Lord Sheffield. The Duke, Leva, Oquenda, Recalde, and the rest, with much ado got cleare of the shallows, and sustained the charge all they could, insomuch as most of their ships were very much torne and shot thorow. The galleoun S. Matthew, under the command of Don Diego Pimentelli, comming to rescue Don Francisco de Toledo in the S. Philip (which was sore battered with many great shot by Seimore and Winter, driven neere Ostend, and againe shot thorow and thorow by the Zelanders and taken by the Flushingers) was likewise taken, and the whole Spanish Fleet most grievously distressed all the day long.

The last day of the moneth betimes in the morning the West-north-west winde blew harde, and the Spanish Fleet labouring to returne to the narrow Straite, was driven toward Zeland. The English gave over the chase, because (as the Spaniards thinke) they saw them almost carried to their ruine: for, the West-north-west winde blowing, they could not but runne aground upon the sands and shallows neere Zeland. But the winde

turning presently into the South west and by West, they sayled before the winde, and being cleare of the shallows, in the evening they consulted what to do: and by common consent it was resolved to returne to Spaine by the North Ocean, for that they wanted many necessaries, especially great shot, their ships were torne, and no hope there was that the Prince of Parma could bring forth his Fleet.

Wherefore being now carried forth into the deepe



Gold Medal of Elizabeth's Reign 1588-9

they directed their course North-ward, the English Fleet having them in chace against which now and then they turned head. And whereas most men thought they would returne, the Queene with a manly courage tooke view of her Army and Campe at Tilbury, and walking through the ranks of armed men placed on both sides, with a Leaders truncheon in her hand sometimes with a martiall pace, and sometimes like a woman, incredible it is how much she strengthened the hearts of her Captaines and Souldiers by her presence and speech.

12. THE LAST FIGHT OF THE *REVENGE*

[SIR WALTER RALEIGH]

The maritime war with Spain was continued actively for ten years after the defeat of the Armada. Here Sir Walter Raleigh tells the story of what was perhaps the most remarkable sea-fight on record.

The Spanish fleete hauing shrouded their approach by reason of the lland ; were now so soone at hand, as our ships had scarce time to waye their anchors, but some of them were driuen to let slippe their Cables, and set sayle. Sir Richard Grinuile<sup>1</sup> was the last waied, to recouer the men that were vpon the lland, which otherwise had beene lost. The *L. Thomas* with the rest verie hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to do, was perswaded by the maister and others to cut his maine saile, and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of his shippe ; for the squadron of Siuil<sup>2</sup> were on his wether bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refused to turne from the enimie, alledging that he would rather chose to dye, then to dishonour him selfe, his countrie, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that he would passe through the two Squadrons, in despite of them : and enforce those of Siuill to giue him way. Which he performed vpon diuerse of the formost, who as the mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the *Reuenge*. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well haue beene answered in so great an impossibilitie of preuailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not bee perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those

<sup>1</sup> Grenville.<sup>2</sup> Seville.

which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, and the shippe could neither way nor feele the helme : so huge and high carged was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and fiue hundreth tuns. Who afterlaid the *Reuenge* aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that wer vnder his lee luffing vp, also laid him aborde : of which the next was the Admirall of the Biscaines, a verie mightie and puyasant shippe commanded by Brittan Dona. The said Philip carried three tire<sup>1</sup> of ordinance on a side, and eleuen peeces in cuerie tire. She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her Sterne portes.

After the *Reuenge* was intangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her ; two on her larboord, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clocke in the afternoone, continued verie terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receyued the lower tire of the *Reuenge*, discharged with crossebarshot, shifted hir selfe with all diligence from her sides, vtterly misliking hir first entertainment. Some say that the shippe foundered, but wee cannot report it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the Marriners ; in some fiue, in others eight hundreth. In ours there were none at all, beside the Marriners, but the Seruants of the commanders and some fewe voluntarie Gentlemen only. After many enterchanged vollies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the *Reuenge*, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force

<sup>1</sup> tiers.

her by the multitudes of their armed souldiers and Musketers, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe, into their owne shippes, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the *George Noble* of London, hauing receiued some shot thorow her by the Armados, fell vnder the Lee of the *Reuenge*, and asked Syr Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victulers and of small force : Syr Richard bid him saue himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurt, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was verie dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and laie speechless for a time ere he recouered. But two of the *Reuenges* owne companie, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Islandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others : affirmed that he was neuer so wounded as that hee forsooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight ; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head and withall his Chirugion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by Syr Frances Godolphin, of 4. other Marriners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said Syr Frances sent vnto maister William Killigrue, of her Maiesties priuie Chamber.

But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the *Reuenge*, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwaies others came in their places,

she hauing neuer lesse then two mightie Gallions by her sides, and aboard her. So that ere the morning from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene seuerall Armados assailed her ; and all so ill approued their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased ; and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who houered all night to see the successe : but in the mornyng bearing with the *Reuenge*, was hunted like a hare amongst the many rauenous houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the *Reuenge* to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundreth free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballast. A small troupe to man such a ship, and a weake Garrison to resist so mighty an Army. By those hundred all was sustained, the voleis, bourdings, and entrings of fifteene shippes of warre, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrarie, the Spanish were alwaies supplied with souldiers brought from euerie squadron ; all manner of Armes and poulder at will. Vnto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships men or weapons ; the mastes all beaten ouer board, all her tackle cut asunder, her vpper worke altogither rased, and in effect euened shее was with the water, but the verie foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or

defence. Syr Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and vnable anie longer to make resistance, hauing endured in this fifteene houres fight, the assault of fifteene seuerall Armadoes, all by tornnes aboorde him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillerie, besides manie assaults and entries. And that himselfe and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemie who were now all cast in a ring round about him ; The *Reuenge* not able to moue one way or other, but as she was moued with the waues and billow of the sea : commanded the maister Gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe ; that thereby nothing might remaine of glorie or victorie to the Spaniards ; seeing in so manie houres fight, and with so great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had fifteene houres time, fifteene thousand men, and fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall. And perswaded the companie, or as manie as he could induce, to yeelde themselves vnto God, and to the mercie of none else ; but as they had like valiant resolute men, repulsed so manie enimies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a few daies. The maister gunner readilie condescended and diuers others but the Captaine and the Maister were of an other opinion ; and besought Sir Richard to haue care of them : alleaging that the Spaniard would be as readie to entertaine a composition as they were willing to offer the same : and that there being diuerse sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose woundes were not mortall, they might doe their countrie and prince acceptable seruice hereafter. And (that where Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should neuer





Sir Richard Grenville

glorie that they had so long and so notably defended themselves) they answered, that the shippe had sixe foote water in hold, three shot vnder water which were so weakly stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needes sinke, and was besides so crusht and brused, as she could never be remoued out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons ; the maister of the *Reuenge* (while the Captaine wan vnto him the greater party) was conuoyde aborde the General Don Alfonso Bassan. Who finding none ouer hastie to enter the *Reuenge* againe, doubting least S. Richard would haue blowne them vp and himselfe, and perceiuing by the report of the maister of the *Reuenge* his dangerous disposition : yeilded that all their liues should be saued, the companie sent for England, and the better sorte to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season be free from Gally or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well as I haue saide, for feare of further losse and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire hee had to recouer Sir Richard Grimuile ; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answere was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common sort being not at the end of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the maister Gunner, being no hard matter to disuade men from death to life. The maister Gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus preuented and maistered by the greater number, would haue slaine himselfe with a sword, had he not beene by force withheld and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent manie boates

aboard the *Reuenge*, and diuerse of our men fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso Bassan to remoue out of the *Reuenge*, the shippe being maruellous vnsauerie, filled with blood and bodies of deade, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his bodie what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe he swounded, and reuiuing againe desired the companie to pray for him. The Generall vsed Sir Richard with all humanities, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthines, and greatly bewailing the daunger wherein he was, beeing vnto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution sildom approued, to see one ship turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armados, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers.

TEAMB.

END OF VOLUME I.



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